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Prof. Fida Mohammad Hassnain

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PREFACE

Situated on the Silk Route, the ancient highway connecting China with Rome, the Valley of Kashmir, enjoys a centeral position of importance, for which , it is called as the Heart of Asia.

Nested among the snowey mountain ranges of the Himalayas, it has become the abode of various tribes which came from distant lands like, Greece, Iran, Palestine, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Tibet, Nagaland and the North India. As such, Kashmir enjoys a significant cultural diversity but intermingled and intermixed into composite identity called the Kashmiriyat. Among the tribes or races which have settled in the Valley, the specific are the Greek, Bactrians, Huns, Kushans, Hebrews, Zoarastrians, Nagas and the Kassites.Prior to the advent of the Chrtian Era, the Valley had been the abode of Judahism and Zoarastrian religion. Then came Buddhism and flourished to such hightes that the 4th Buddhist Council was held here under the patronage of Kanishka Kushana. The new progressive type of Buddhism, which is called the Mahayana, originated from this place aned flourished in the Valley in 5th century. Then came Hinduism, which dominated the Valley in the 12th century. Then, Islam was ushered in and the Budhist king of Kashmir, Renchan Shah accepted Islam.

The independent Kingdom of Kashmir was enslaved by the Moghul Emperor of India, Akbar in about 1589 AD. Since then Kashmir continued under the slavery of the Afghans, the Sikhs and the Dogras upto 1947 AD. During these four hundred years, the Kashmiris suffered tyrannical oppression but it did not break the spirit of freedom from their mind and heart. No better expression of this spirit can be given

except to quote, Lalla, the famous Kashmiri mystic lady, who declares:

Assi aasys ta aasi aasav

Assi durr kurr patta- watth

This very consciousness is hallmark of the Kashmiris. In the Kashmir Papers are included my write-ups with this very consciousness-expression of solidarity with all, irrespective of colour creed and caste.

Originally, the manuscript typed out by Mr.Jagmeet Singh has been reshaped by Mr.Fahad Khan , to both of them I express my thanks. The beautiful title cover of this book has been designed by Mr.Miraj –uddin, who deserves my appreciation.

Srinagar, Kashmir, India

Jan-2011

Professor Fida Hassnain

1.

INTRODUCTION

Sir James Douie (1854-1935) started his career as a District Officer under the then British Government of India and finally rose to the position of Lieut-Governor of the North Western Indian region.During his 35 years of service , he had to administer Punjab,Frontier Provinve , Bluchistan and Sind.In his capacity as a Dignitary of the British Government he came into contact, the Princely States of Jammu and Kashmir, the Simla Hill States and the States in Punjab.In 1916, he published his work, entitled:The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir.He treated this area- 253000 square miles ,one compact unit under the British Raj as homogeneous .In his work, he writes about physiography, flora and fauna,mountains, rivers the people and history. Out of his voluminous work, I have searched and collected information about Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh in this write-up.

While describing the boundaries of the British Empire in India, he writes that there is a point to the north of Hunza in Kashmir where three great mountain chains, the Muztagh from the south-east, the Hindu Kush from the south-west, and the Sarikol (an offshoot of the Kuenlun) from the north-east, meet. It is also the meeting-place of the Indian, Chinese, and Russian empires and of Afghánistán. Westwards from this the boundary of Kashmír and Chinese Turkestán runs for 350 miles (omitting curves) through a desolate upland lying well to the north of the Muztagh-Karakoram range. Finally in the north-east corner of Kashmír the frontier impinges on the great Central Asian axis of the Kuenlun. From this point it turns southwards and separates Chinese Tibet from the salt Lingzi Thang plains and the Indus valley in Kashmír, and the eastern part of the native state of Bashahr, which physically form a portion of Tibet.

MOUNTAINS, HILLS, AND PLAINS

The author deals with the Himalayas and writes that the huge mountain rampart which guards the northern frontier of India thrusts out in the north-west a great bastion whose outer walls are the Hindu Kush and the Muztagh-Karakoram ranges.

Behind the latter with a general trend from south-east to north-west are the great valley of the Indus to the point near Gilgit where it turns sharply to the south, and a succession of mountain chains and glens making up the Himalayan tract, through which the five rivers of the Panjáb and the Jamna find their way to the plains. To meet trans-Indus extensions of the Himálaya the Hindu Kush pushes out from its main axis great spurs to the south, flanking the valleys which drain into the Indus either directly or through the Kábul River.

Tibet, which from the point of view of physical geography includes a large and little known area in the Kashmír State to the north of the Karakoram Range, is a lofty, desolate, wind swept plateau with a mean elevation of about 15,000 feet. In the part of it situated to the north of the north-west corner of Nipál lies the Manasarowar lake, in the neighbourhood of which three great Indian rivers, the Tsanpo or Brahmapútra, the Sutlej, and the Indus, take their rise. The Indus flows to the north-west for 500 miles and then turns abruptly to the south to seek its distant home in the Indian Ocean. The Tsanpo has a still longer course of 800 miles eastwards before it too bends southwards to flow through Assam into the Bay of Bengal. Between the points where these two giant rivers change their direction there extends for a distance of 1500 miles the vast congeries of mountain ranges known collectively as the "Himálaya" or "Abode of Snow." As a matter of convenience the name is sometimes confined to the mountains east of the Indus, but geologically the hills of Buner and Swát to the north of Pesháwar probably belong to the same system.

Sir James Douie is of the opinion that the division of the Himálaya intothe three sections is convenient for descriptive purposes. But its chief axis runs through all the sections. East of Nipál it strikes into Tibet not very far from the source of the Tsanpo, is soon pierced by the gorge of the Sutlej, and beyond it forms the southern watershed of the huge Indus valley. In the west this great rampart is known as the Zánskar range. For a short distance it is the boundary between the Panjáb and

Kashmír, separating two outlying portions of the Kángra district, Lahul and Spití, from Ladákh. In this section the peaks are from 19,000 to 21,000 feet high, and the Baralácha pass on the road from the Kulu valley in Kángra to Leh, the capital of Ladákh, is at an elevation of about 16,500 feet. In Kashmír the Zánskar or Inner Himálaya divides the valley of the Indus from those of the Chenáb and Jhelam. It has no mountain to dispute supremacy with Everest (29,000 feet), or Kinchinjunga in the Eastern Himálaya, but the inferiority is only relative. The twin peaks called Nun and Kun to the east of Srínagar exceed 23,000 feet, and in the extreme north-west the grand mountain mass of Nanga Parvat towers above the Indus to a height of 26,182 feet. The lowest point in the chain is the Zojilá (11,300 feet) on the route from Srínagar, the capital of Kashmír, to Leh on the Indus.

ROAD TO LEH:

While describing the road from Srínagar to Gilgit, the author states that the road passes over the Burzil pass at an elevation of 13,500 feet.

The Zojilá is at the top of the beautiful valley of the Sind River, a tributary of the Jhelam. The lofty Zánskar range blocks the inward flow of the monsoon, and once the Zojilá is crossed the aspect of the country entirely changes. The land of forest glades and green pastures is left behind, and a region of naked and desolate grandeur begins.He quotes from Nev's Picturesque Kashmir:

"The waste of snow ... is the frontier of barren Tibet, where sandy wastes replace verdant meadows, and where the wild ridges, jutting up against the sky, are kept bare of vegetation, their strata crumbling under the destructive action of frost and water, leaving bare ribs of gaunt and often fantastic ine.... The colouring of the mountains is remarkable throughout Ladákh and nowhere more so than near the Fotulá (a pass on the road to Leh to the south of the Indus gorge).... As we ascend the peaks suggest organ pipes, so vertical are the ridges, so jagged the ascending outlines. And each pipe is painted a different colour ... pale slate green, purple, yellow, a grey, orange, and chocolate, each colour corresponding with a layer of the slate, shale, limestone, or trap strata"

The Mid Himálayan or Pangí range, striking west from the Rotang pass and the northern end of the Bara Bangáhal chain, passes through the heart of Chamba dividing the valley of the Chenáb (Pangí) from

that of the Ráví. After entering Kashmír it crosses the Chenáb near the Kolahoi cone (17,900 feet) and the head waters of the Jhelam. Thence it continues west over Haramukh (16,900feet), which casts its shadow southwards on the Wular lake, to the valley of the Kishnganga, and probably across it to the mountains which flank the magnificent Kágan glen in Hazâra.

HIMALAYAN SCENERY:

While dealing with the Himalayas, the learned author writes that certain things strike any observant traveller in the Himálaya. One is the comparative absence of running or still water, except at the peak of the rainy season, away from the large rivers.The slope is so rapid that ordinary falls of rain run off with great rapidity. The mountain scenery is often magnificent and the forests are beautiful, but the absence of water robs the landscape of a charm which would make it really perfect. Where this too is present, as in the valley of the Biás in Kulu and those of the Jhelam and its tributaries in Kashmír and Hazára, the eye have its full fruition of content.Another is the silence of the forests. Bird and beast are there, but they are little exposed. A third feature which can hardly be missed is the contrast between the northern and the southern slopes. The former will often be clothed with forest while the latter is a bare stony slope covered according to season with brown or green grass interspersed with bushes of indigo, barberry, or the hog plum (Prinsepia utilis). The reason is that the northern side enjoys much more shade, snow lies longer and the supply of moisture is therefore greater.

RIVERS:

The third Chapter of the book gives description of the Punjab rivers. Sir James Douie writes that "Panjáb" is a Persian compound word, meaning "five waters," and strictly speaking the word denotes the country between the valley of the Jhelam and that of the Sutlej. The intermediate rivers from west to east are the Chenáb, the Ráví, and the Biás. Their combined waters at last flow into the Panjnad or "five rivers" at the south-west corner of the Multán district, and the volume of water which 44 miles lower down the Panjnad carries into the Indus is equal to the discharge of the latter. The first Aryan settlers knew this part of India as the land of the seven rivers (sapla sindhavas), adding to the

five mentioned above the Indus and the Sarasvatí.

INDUS:

The author observes that the river Sindh (Sanskrit, Sindhu), more familiar tous under its classical name of the Indus, must have filled with astonishment every invader from the west, and it is not wonderful that they called after it the country that lay beyond. The five great rivers of the Panjáb drain into the Indus, and the Ghagar with its tributary, theSarustí, which now, even when in flood, loses itself in the sands of Bikaner, probably once flowed down the old Hakra bed in Baháwalpur either into the Indus or by an independent bed now represented by an old flood channel of the Indus in Sindh, the Hakro or Nara, which passes through the Rann of Kachh.

To the north of the Manasarowar lake in Tibet is Kailás, the Hindu Olympus. On the side of this mountain the Indus is said to rise at a height of 17,000 feet. After a course of 200 miles or more it crosses the south-east boundary of the Kashmír State at an elevation of 13,800 feet. From the Kashmír frontier to Mt Haramosh west of Gilgit it flows steadily to the north-west for 350 miles. After 125 miles Leh, the capital of Ladákh, is reached at a height of 10,500 feet, and here the river is crossed by the trade route to Yarkand. A little below Leh the Indus receives the Zánskar, which drains the south-east of Kashmír. After another 150 miles it flows through the basin, in which Skardo, the principal town in Baltistán, is situated above Skardo a large tributary, the Shyok, flows in from the east at an elevation of 8000 feet. The Shyok and its affluent, the Nubra, rise in the giant glaciers to the south-west of the Karakoram pass. After the Skardo basin is left behind the descent is rapid. The river rushes down a tremendous gorge, where it appears to break through the western Himálaya, skirts Haramosh, and at a point twenty-five miles east of Gilgit bends abruptly to the south. Shortly after it is joined from the west by the Gilgit River, and here the bed is about 4000 feet above sea level. Continuing to flow south for another twenty miles it resumes it's westernly course to the north of Nanga Parvat and persists in it for 100 miles. Our political post of Chilás lies in this section on the south bank. Fifty or sixty miles west of Chilás the Indus turns finally to the south. From Jálkot, where the Kashmír frontier is left, to Palosí below the Mahaban Mountain it flows for a hundred miles through territory over which we only exercise political control. Near

Palosí, 812 miles from the source, the river enters British India. In Kashmír the Indus and the Shyok in some places flow placidly over alluvial flats and at others with a rapid and broken current through narrow gorges. At Skardo this united stream is said, even in winter, to be 500 feet wide and nine or ten feet deep. If one of the deep gorges, as sometimes happens, is choked by a landslip, the flood that follows when the barrier finally bursts may spread devastation hundreds of miles away. To the north of the fertile Chach plain in Attock there is a wide stretch of land along the Indus, which still shows in its stony impoverished soil the effects of the great flood of 1841.

THE JEHLAM:

According to the author, the Jhelam, the most westernly of the five rivers of the Panjáb, is called the Veth in Kashmir and locally in the Panjáb plains the Vehat. These names correspond to the Bihat of the Muhammadan historians and the Hydaspes of the Greeks, and all go back to the Sanskrit Vitasta. Issuing from a deep pool at Vernág to the east of Islámábád in Kashmír it becomes navigable just below that town, and flows north-west in a lazy stream for 102 miles through Srínagar, the summer capital, into the Wular Lake, and beyond it to Báramúla. The banks are quite low and often cultivated to the river's edge. But across the flat valley there is on either side a splendid panorama of mountains. From Báramúla the character of the Jhelam suddenly changes, and for the next 70 miles to Kohála, where the traveller crosses by a fine bridge into the Panjáb, it rushes down a deep gorge, whose sides are formed by the Kajnág mountains on the right, and the Pír Panjál on the left, bank. Between Báramúla and Kohála there is a drop from 5000 to 2000 feet. At Domel, the stage before Kohála the Jhelam receives from the north the waters of the Kishnganga, and lower down it is joined by the Kunhár, which drains the Kágan glen in Hazára. A little above Kohála it turns sharply to the south, continuing its character as a mountain stream hemmed in by the hills of Ráwalpindí on the right bank and of the Púnch State on the left.. The noblest and most-varied scenery in the north-west Himalaya is in the catchment area of the Jhelam. The Kashmír valley and valleys which drain into the Jhelam from the north, the Liddar, the Loláb, the Sind, and the Kágan glen, display a wealth of beauty unequalled elsewhere. Nor does this river wholly lose its association with beauty in the plains. Its very rich silt

gives the lands on its banks the green charm of rich crops and pleasant trees.

THE CHENAB:

According to the learned author, the Chenáb (more properly Chináb or river of China) is the Asikní of the Vedas and the Akesines of the Greek historians. It is formed by the union of the Chandra and Bhága, both of which rise in Lahul near the Báralácha pass. Having become the Chandrabhága the river flows through Pángí in Chamba and the south-east of Kashmír. Near Kishtwár it breaks through the Pír Panjál range, and thence forwards receives the drainage of its southern slopes. At Akhnúr it becomes navigable and soon after it enters the Panjáb district of Siálkot. A little later it is joined from the west by the Tawí, the stream above which stands Jammu, the winter capital of Kashmír. The Chenáb parts Siálkot and Gujránwála on the left bank from Gujrát and Sháhpur on the right. At Wazírábád, near the point where Siálkot, Gujrát, and Gujránwála meet, it is crossed by the Alexandra railway bridge. Leaving Sháhpur and Gujránwála behind, the Chenáb flows through Jhang to its junction with the Jhelam at Trimmu. In this section there is a second railway bridge at Chund Bharwána. The united stream runs on under the name of Chenáb to be joined on the north border of the Multán district by the Ráví and on its southern border by the Sutlej. Below its junction with the latter the stream is known as the Panjnad. In the plains the Chenáb cannot be called an attractive river, and its silt is far inferior to that of the Jhelam.

THE RAVI:

Sir James Douie writes that the river Ráví was known to the writers of the Vedic hymns as the Parushní, but is called in classical Sanskrit Irávatí. It rises near the Rotang pass in Kángra, and flows north-west through the southern part of Chamba. Below the town of Chamba, it runs as a swift slaty-blue mountain stream, and here it is spanned by a fine bridge. Passing on to the north of the hill of Dalhousie it reaches the Kashmir border, and turning to the south-west flows along it to Basolí where Kashmír, Chamba, and the British district of Gurdáspur meet. At this point it is 2000 feet above the sea level. It now forms the boundary of Kashmír and Gurdáspur, and finally near Madhopur, where the head-works of the Bárí Doáb canal are situated, it passes into the

Gurdáspur district.

GEOLOGY AND MINERAL RESOURCES

The learned author deals at length the subject of geology and minerals in the whole region comprising Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier Province and Kashmir. I am making a selection of references which deal with Kashmir and Ladakh.

Sir James Douie rightly says that Kashmir~ deserves special mention, as it is a veritable paradise for the geologist. Of the variety of problems that it presents one might mention the petrological questions connected with the intrusion of the great masses of granite, and their relation to the slates and associated metamorphic rocks. Of fossiliferous systems there is a fine display of material ranging in age from Silurian to Upper Trias, and additional interest is added by the long-continued volcanic eruptions of the "Panjál trap." Students of recent phenomena have at their disposal interesting problems in physiography, including a grand display of glaciers, and the extensive deposits of so-called karewas, which appear to have been formed in drowned valleys, where the normal fluviatile conditions are modified by those characteristic of lakes. The occurrence of sapphires in Zánskar gives the State also an interest to the mineralogist and connoisseur of gem-stones.

Of this kaleidoscopic assemblage of questions the ones of most immediate interest are connected with the Silurian-Trias succession in the Kashmír valley, for here we have a connecting-link between the marine formations of the Salt Range area and those which are preserved in greater perfection in Spití and other parts of the Tibetan highlands, stretching away to the south-east at the back of the great range of crystalline snow-covered peaks.

In this interesting part of Kashmír the most important feature to Indian geologists is the occurrence of plant remains belonging to genera identical with those that occur in the lower part of the great coal-bearing formation of Peninsular India, known as the Gondwána system. Until these discoveries were made in Kashmír about ten years ago the age of the base of the Gondwánas was estimated only on indirect evidence, partly due to the assumption that glacial conditions in the Salt Range and those at the base of the Gondwánas were contemporaneous, and partly due to analogy with the coal measures of Australia

and South Africa. In Kashmír the characteristic plant remains of the Lower Gondwánas are found associated with marine fossils in great abundance, and these permit of a correlation of the strata with the upper part of the Carboniferous system of the European standard stratigraphical scale.

Sir James Douie makes a very interesting statement that Kashmír seems to have been near the estuary of one of the great rivers that formerly flowed over the ancient continent of Gondwánaland (when India and South Africa formed parts of one continental mass) into the great Eurasian Ocean known as Tethys. As the deposits formed in this great ocean give us the principal part of our data for forming a standard stratigraphical scale, the plants which were carried out to sea become witnesses of the kind of flora that flourished during the main Indian coal period; they thus enable us with great precision to fix the position of the fresh-water Gondwánas in comparison with the marine succession.

Borax is produced in Ladákh and larger quantities are imported across the frontier from Tibet. In the early summer one frequently meets herds of sheep being driven southwards across the Himalayan passes, each sheep carrying a couple of small saddle-bags laden with borax or salt, which is bartered in the Panjáb bazars for Indian and foreign stores for the winter requirements of the snow-blocked valleys beyond the frontier.

The sapphires of Zánskar have been worked at intervals since the discovery of the deposit in 1881, and some of the finest stones in the gem market have been obtained from this locality.

BEASTS, BIRDS, FISHES and INSECTS.

Describing the fauna in the 8th Chapter, the learned author writes that with the spread of cultivation and drainage the Panjáb plains have ceased to be the haunt of wild beasts and wild fowl. The lion has long been extinct and the tiger has practically disappeared. Leopards are to be found in low hills, and sometimes stray into the plains. Wolves are seen occasionally, and jackals are very common. The black buck (Antilope cerricapra) can still be shot in many places. The graceful little chinkára or ravine deer (Gazella Bennetti) is found in sandy tracts, and the hogdeer or párha (Cervus porcinus) near rivers. The nílgai

(Boselaphus tragocamelus) is less common. Monkeys abound in the hills and in canal-irrigated tracts in the Eastern districts, where their sacred character protects them from destruction, though they do much damage to crops. Peafowl are to be seen in certain tracts, especially in the eastern Panjáb. They should not be shot where the people are Hindus or anywhere near a Hindu shrine.

The great and lesser bustards and several kinds of sand grouse are to be found in sandy districts. The grey partridge is everywhere, and the black can be got near the rivers. The sísí and the chikor are the partridges of the hills, which are also the home of fine varieties of pheasants including the monál. Quail frequent the ripening fields in April and late in September. Duck of various kinds abound where there are jhíls, and snipe are to be got in marshy ground. The green parrots, crows, and vultures are familiar sights. Both the sharp-nosed (Garialis Gangetica, vern. ghariál) and the blunt-nosed (Crocodilus palustris, vern. magar) crocodiles haunt the rivers. The fish are tasteless; the rohu and mahseer are the best. Poisonous snakes are the karait, the cobra, and Russell's viper. The first is sometimes an intruder in houses. Lizards and mongooses are less unwelcome visitors. White ants attack timber and ruin books, and mosquitoes and sandflies add to the unpleasant features of the hot weather.

THE PEOPLE: NUMBERS, RACES, AND LANGUAGES

With regard to the growth of population, the author says that it is probable that during the 64 years since annexation the population of the Panjáb has increased from 40 to 50 per cent. The first reliable census was taken in 1881. The figures for the four decennial enumerations are:

parks, houseboats and hotels. Scenic views of the lake can be witnessed from the shore line Mughal gardens, such as Shalimar Bagh and Nishat Bagh built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir) and from houseboats cruising along the lake in the colourful shikaras. During the winter season, the temperature sometimes reaches "11 °C (12.2 °F), freezing the lake.

The lake covers an area of 18 square kilometres (6.9 sq mi) and is part of a natural wetland which covers 21.1 square kilometres (8.1 sq mi), including its floating gardens. The floating gardens, known as "Rad" in Kashmiri, blossom with lotus flowers during July and August. The wetland is divided by causeways into four basins; *Gagribal, Lokut Dal, Bod Dal* and *Nagin* (although Nagin is also considered as an independent lake). Lokut-dal and Bod-dal each have an island in the centre, known as *Rup Lank* (or *Char Chinari*) and *Sona Lank* respectively.

At present, the Dal Lake and its Mughal gardens, Shalimar Bagh and the Nishat Bagh on its periphery are undergoing intensive restoration measures to fully address the serious eutrophication problems experienced by the lake. Massive investments of around US $275 million (Rs 1100 crores) is being made by the Government of India to restore the lake to its original splendour.

History

Dal lake is mentioned as Mahasarit in ancient Sanskrit texts. Ancient history records mention that a village named Isabar to the east of Dal Lake was the residence of goddess Durga. This place was known as Sureshwari on the bank of the lake, which was sourced by a spring called the Satadhara.

During the Mughal period, the Mughal rulers of India designated Kashmir, Srinagar in particular, as their summer resort. They developed the precincts of the Dal lake in Srinagar with spawling Mughul-type gardens and pavilions as pleasure resorts to enjoy the salubrious cool climate. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, which led to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, and the Durrani Empire ruled for several decades. In 1814 a significant part of the Kashmir valley, including Srinagar, was annexed by Raja Ranjit Singh to his kingdom, and the Sikhs grew in influence in the region for 27 years.

During the Raj, the British Residents also made Srinagar their capital during the summer months, attracted by the cool climate of the Kashmir valley, amidst the back drop of the majestic snow covered Himalayan ranges. The lake precincts experience temperatures in the range of 1–11 °C (34–52 °F) during winter and 12–30 °C (54–86 °F) during the summer season. The lake freezes when temperatures drop to about "11 °C (12.2 °F) during severe winter. Although the Dogra Maharaja of Kashmir restricted the building of

eyesight is ruined.

According to the census return the number of Kashmiri Musalmans, who Make 60 p.c. of the Jhelam valley was 765,442. They are no doubt mostly descendants of various Hindu castes, perhaps in the main of Hill Brahmans, but Islám has wiped out all tribal distinctions. Sir Walter Lawrence wrote of them: "The Kashmírí is unchanged in spite of the splendid Moghal, the brutal Afghán, and the bully Sikh. Warriors and statesmen came and went; but there was no egress and no wish ... in normal times to leave their homes. The outside world was far, and from all accounts inferior to the pleasant valley.... Sō the Kashmírís lived their self-centred life, conceited, clever, and conservative."

The Hindu Kashmírí Pandits numbered 55,276. Agricultural Brahmans are numerous in the Jammu province. Thakkars and Meghs are important elements of the population of the outer hills. The former are no doubt by origin Rájputs, but they have cast off many Rájput customs. The Meghs are engaged in weaving and agriculture, and are regarded as more or less impure by the higher castes.

The Gujars in the Maharaja's territories are almost always graziers. In 1911 they numbered 328,003.

The people of Astor and Gilgit are Dards speaking Shina and professing Islám. Sir Aurel Stein wrote of them: "The Dard race which inhabits the valleys N. of (the Inner Himálaya) as far as the Hindu Kush is separated from the Kashmírí population by language as well as by physical characteristics.... There is little in the Dard to enlist the sympathies of the casual observer. He lacks the intelligence, humour, and fine physique of the Kashmírí, and, though undoubtedly far braver than the latter, has none of the independent spirit and manly bearing which draw us towards the Pathán despite all his failings. But I can never see a Dard without thinking of the thousands of years of struggle they have carried on with the harsh climate and the barren soil of their mountains."

The origin of the Kanjútís of Hunza is uncertain, and so are the relationships of their language.

The population of Ladákh and Báltistán is Mongoloid, but the Báltís (72,439) have accepted Islám and polygamy, while the Ladákhis have adhered to Buddhism and polyandry.

The eastern part of the Indus valley in Kashmír forming the provinces of Ladákh and Báltistán is occupied by a Mongol population speaking Tibeto-Chinese dialects. Kashmírí is the language of Kashmír Proper, and various dialects of the Shina-Khowár group comprehensively described as Kohistání are spoken in Astor, Gilgit, and Chilás, and to the west of Kashmír territory in Chitrál and the Kohistán or mountainous country at the top of the Swát river valley. Though Kashmírí and the Shina-Khowár tongues belong to the Aryan group, their basis is supposed to be non-Sanskritic, and it is held that there is a strong non-Sanskritic or Pisácha element also in Lahndí or western Panjábí, which is also the prevailing speech in the Hazára and Dera Ismail Khán districts of the N.W.F. Province, and is spoken in part of the Jammu province of Kashmír. In Kashmír the preponderance of Muslims is not so overwhelming. The figures are:

Muslims	2,398,320
Hindus	690,390
Buddhists	36,512
Sikhs	31,553

The Hindus belong mostly to the Jammu province, where nearly half of the population professes that faith. The people of Kashmír, Báltistán, Astor and Gilgit, Chilás and Hunza Nagár, are Muslims.

HISTORY:

With regard to Kashmir, the learned author takes us to the advent of the Kushnas. He writes that they were driven southward to the Oxus and the Kábul valley and under the Kushán dynasty established their authority in the Panjáb about the middle of the first century. The most famous name is that of Kanishka, who wrested from China Kashgár, Yarkand, and Khotan, and assembled ~a~ notable council of sages of the law in Kashmír. His reign may be dated from 120 to 150 A.D. His capital was at Purushapura (Pesháwar), near which he built the famous relic tower of Buddha, 400 feet high. Beside the tower was a large monastery still renowned in the ninth and tenth centuries as a home of sacred learning.

The rule of the Kushán kings lasted till the end of the first quarter of the third century. To their time belong the Buddhist sculptures found

in the tracts near their Pesháwar capital.

In tne beginning of the sixth century the White Hun, Mahirakula, ruled the Panjáb from Sakala, the modern Siálkot. He was a worshipper of Siva, and a deadly foe of the Buddhist cult, and has been described as a monster of cruelty. (He held sway over Kashmir also.)

The short-lived dominion of the White Huns was destroyed by the Turks, Persians about the year 565 A.D.From various sources .one of the most valuable being the Memoirs of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India from 6 AD. we know that the most powerful king named Harsha held a suzerainty over all the rajas from the Brahmaputra to the Biás. West of that river the king of Kashmír was also overlord of Táxila, Urasa, Parnotsa (Punch), Rájapurí (Rajaurí) and Sinhapura, which seems to have included the Salt Range. The Pesháwar valley was probably ruled by the Turkí Shahiya kings of Kábul. The rest of the Panjáb was divided between a kingdom called by Hiuen Tsang Tsekhia, whose capital was somewhere near Siálkot, and the important kingdom of Sindh, in which the Indus valley as far north as the Salt Range was included. Harsha died in 647 A.D. and his empire collapsed.

For the next century China was at the height of its power. It established a suzerainty over Kashmír, Udyána (Swát), Yasín, and Chitrál. The first was at this period a powerful Hindu kingdom. Its annals, as recorded in Kalhana's Rájataranginí, bear henceforward a real relation to history. In 733 A.D. King Muktapida Lálitáditya received investiture from the Chinese Emperor. Seven years later he defeated the King of Kanauj on the Ganges. A ruler who carried his arms so far afield must have been very powerful in the Northern Panjáb. The remains of the wonderful Mártand temple, which he built in honour of the Sun God, are a standing memorial of his greatness. The history of Kashmír under its Hindu kings for the next 400 years is for the most part that of a wretched people ground down by cruel tyrants. A notable exception was Avantidharman — 855-883 A.D. whose minister, Suyya, carried out very useful drainage and irrigation works.

The learned author is of the opinion that the iconoclastic raids of Mahmúd probably gave the coup de grâce to Buddhism. Its golden age may be put at from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D. Brahmanism gradually emerged from retirement and reappeared at royal courts. It was quite ready to admit Buddha to its pantheon, and by so doing it sapped the doctrine he had taught. The Chinese pilgrim, Fahien, in the early part of the fifth century could still describe Buddhism in the Punjab as "very flourishing" and he found numerous monasteries. The religion seems however to have largely degenerated into a childish veneration of relics.

THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR:

Under this heading, the author briefly describes the Sultanate period in Kashmir, which extends from 1320 to 1589 AD. I feel that he has made no study of the material available on the period from the Persian sources.

He writes that the Hindu rule in Kashmír had broken down by the middle of the twelfth century. A long line of Muslim Sultáns followed. Two notable names emerge in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, Sikandar, the "Idol-breaker," who destroyed most of the Hindu temples and his wise and tolerant successor, Zain-ul-ábidín. Akbar conquered Kashmír in 1587.His successors often moved from Delhi by Lahore, Bhimbar, and the Pír Panjál route to the Happy Valley in order to escape the summer heats. Bernier has given us a graphic account of Aurangzeb's move to the hills in 1665. On that occasion his total following was estimated to amount to 300,000 or 400,000 persons and the journey from Delhi to Lahore occupied two months. The burden royal progresses on this scale must have imposed on the country is inconceivable. Jahángír died in his beloved Kashmír. He planted the road from Delhi to Lahore with trees, set up as milestones the kos minárs, some of which are still standing, and built fine sarais at various places.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND COINS:

The 21st Chapter of the work by Sir James Douie deals with some of the historic monuments in Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir. As a staunch British imperialist, who followed a policy of divide and rule in India, he depicts the Muslim rulers as the destroyers of the Buddhist stupas and the Hindu temples. He writes that the scholar, who ended his study of Indian history with the close of the first millennium of the Christian era would expect to find a fruitful field for the study of ancient monuments of the Hindu faith in the plains of the Panjáb. He would look for a great temple of the Sun God at Multán, and at places like Lahore and Kángra, Thanesar and Pihowa, for shrines rich with graven work out-

side and with treasures of gold and precious stones within. Forgetting the role of the British in enslaving India, the author speakes of Muslim kings as invaders and idol- breakers. He writes that even those invaders who remained as conquerors deemed it a pious work to build their mosques with the stones of ruined fanes. The transformation, as in the case of the great Kuwwat- ul -Islám mosque beside the Qutb Minár, did not always involve the complete obliteration of idolatrous emblems.

The ruins of the great temple of the Sun, built by Lálitáditya in the same period, at Mártand] near Islámábád in the Kashmír State are very striking. The smaller, but far better preserved, temple at Payer is probably of much later date. Round the pool of Katás, one of Siva's eyes, a great place of Hindu pilgrimage in the Salt Range, there is little or nothing of antiquarian value, but there are interesting remains at Malot in the same neighbourhood. It is possible that when the mounds that mark the sites of ancient villages come to be excavated valuable relics of the Hindu period will be brought to light.

The forces of nature or the violence of man have wiped out all traces of the numerous Buddhist monasteries which the Chinese pilgrims found in the Panjáb. Inscriptions graven on rocks survive at Sháhbázgarhí and Mansehra in the North-West Frontier Province. Two pillars with inscriptions of the Missionary Emperor stand at Delhi. They were brought from Topra near the Jamna in Ambála and from Meerut by Firoz Sháh. The traveller by train from Jhelam to Ráwalpindí can see to the west of the line at Mankiála a great stúpa raised to celebrate the self-sacrifice of the Bodhisattva who gave his life to feed a starving tigress. There is a ruined stúpa at Suí Vihár in the Baháwalpur State.

The Chinese pilgrims described the largest of Indian stúpas built by Kanishka near Pesháwar to enshrine precious relics of Gautama Buddha and a great monastery beside it. Recent excavations have proved the truth of the conjecture that the two mounds at Sháhjí kí dherí covered the remains of these buildings, and the six-sided crystal reliquary containing three small fragments of bone has after long centuries been disinterred and is now in the great pagoda at Rangoon. In the Lahore museum there is a rich collection of the sculptures recovered from the Pesháwar Valley, the ancient Gandhára. They exhibit strong traces of Greek influence. The best age of Gandhára sculpture was probably over before the reign of Kanishka. The site of the famous town of Táxila is

involved measures such as construction of siltation tanks, mechanical deweeding, regrouping of houseboats, deepening of outflow channel and removal of bunds and barricades, including some floating gardens. In addition, a moratorium has been imposed on new construction works close to the lakefront, including the building of new house boats. Resettlement plans for migrating the population from the lakefront have also evolved. The long-term development plans also deal with the reafforestation of catchment area to reduce erosion movement and movement of silt and to regulate grazing by livestock. Recent reports indicate that, as of 2010, 40% of the measures have been implemented.

Uses and Attractions

The lake is popular as a visitor attraction and a summer resort. Fisheries and the harvesting of food and fodder plants are also important on Dal Lake. Weeds from the lake are extracted and converted into compost for the gardens. It also serves as a flood lung of the Jhelum River. Swimming, boating, snow skiing (particularly when the lake is frozen during the severe winter), and canoeing are amongst some of the water sports activities practised on the lake.

The lake has numerous sites and places of interest, many of which are important to the cultural heritage of Srinigar. Aside from the Shalimar Bagh and Nishat Bagh, some of the other places frequented by tourists are the Shankaracharya temple, the Hari Parbat, the Nagin Lake, the Chashme Shahi, the Hazratbal Shrine, the famous Kashmir houseboat and the shikara (boat) called the Gandola of Kashmir.

Island of Char Chinar

A famous landmark in Srinagar is an island on Dal Lake where four Chinar (*Platanus orientalis*) trees stand, named "Char Chinar". Char in Hindi and Urdu means four.

Nagin Lake

Nagin Lake, though sometimes referred to as a separate lake, is actually part of Dal Lake, being linked through a causeway which permits only bikers and walkers to enter the lake precincts. The caseway carries the water supply pipeline to the Srinagar city in the east. The lake is bounded by the Shankaracharya hill (Takht-e-Suleiman) on the south and Hari Parbat on the west and is located at the foot of the Hari Parbat hills. Willow and poplar trees flank the edges of the lake.

Chashme Shahi

Chashme Shahi, meaning "Royal Spring", is a fresh water spring and garden known for its medicinal properties. Its source located above the

scripts. Amongst Sikh mints were Amritsar, Lahore, Multán, Dera, Anandgarh, Jhang, and Kashmír.

KASHMÍR AND JAMMU:

Under this heading, the learned author deals with history of Kashmir during modern times.He writes that the Mahraja of Kashmir and Jammu rules over a wide territory, covering an area about equal to that of the Punjab less the Ambala division. Referering to the Afghan rule in Kashmir, he writes that even the hard Sikh rule was a relief to a country which had felt the tyranny of the Durani Governors, who succeeded the Moghals. Under the latter small kingships had survived in the Jammu hills, but the Jammuwál Rajas met at Ranjít Singh's hands the same fate as the Kángra Rájas. Three cadets of the Jammu royal house, the brothers Dhián Singh, Suchet Singh, and Guláb Singh, were great men at his court. In 1820 he made the last one the Rája of Jammu. Gúláb Singh was a man fit for large designs. In 20 years he had made himself the master of Bhadráwah, Kishtwár, Ladákh, and Báltistán, and held the casket which enclosed the jewel of Kashmír. He acquired the jewel itself for 75 lakhs by treaty with the British at the close of the first Sikh war. The author ignores the ugly part played by the British in the destruction of the Sikh kingdom of Panjab through the treachery of Gulab Singh and subsequent sakle of Kashmir by them to their stooge.This sale was affected by them with out any legal authority because the Valley of Kashmnir did not belong to them, nor were the people asked about this sale.

Excluding a large but little-known and almost uninhabited tract beyond the Muztagh and Karakoram mountains, the drainage of which is northwards into Central Asia, the country consists of the valleys of the Chenáb, Jhelam, and Indus, that of the last amounting to three-fourths of the whole. There is a trifling area to the west of Jammu, which contains the head-waters of small streams which find their way into the Rávi.

After providing a Sketch Map of the Chenab and the Jhelam Valleys the author writes that the following broad divisions may be recognised:

1. Chenáb Valley
   a. Plain and Kandí or Low Hills.
   b. Uplands of Kishtwár and Bhadráwah.

2. Jhelam Valley
   a. Vale of Kashmír with adjoining glens and hills.
   b. Gorge below Báramúla and Kishnganga Valley.
3. Indus Valley
   a. Ladákh including Zánskar and Rupshu.
   b. Báltistán.
   c. Astor and Gilgit.

Chenáb Valley: (a) Plain and Kandí. this tract extends from Mírpur on the Jhelam to Kathua near the Rávi and close to the head-works of the Upper Bárí Doáb Canal at Mádhopur. It is coterminous with the Panjáb districts of Jhelam, Gujrát, Siálkot, and Gurdáspur, and comprises four of the five districts of the Jammu Province, Mírpur, Riásí, Jammu, and Jasrota, and a part of the fifth, Udhampur. The plain is moist and unhealthy. The rough country behind with a stony and thirsty red soil covered in its natural state with garna (Carissa spinarum), sanatan (Dodonaea viscosa), and bhekar (Adhatoda vasica) does not suffer in this respect. The chief crops of the Kandí are wheat, barley, and rape in the spring, and maize and bájra in the autumn, harvest. Behind the Kandí is a higher and better tract, including Naoshera, with wide valleys, in which maize replaces bájra.

(b) Uplands. The greater part of the Upper Chenáb Valley is occupied by Kishtwár and Jagír Bhadráwah. The rainfall is heavy and there is copious irrigation from kuhls (page 142), but elevation and rapid drainage make the climate healthy. In the upper parts snow and cold winds sometimes prevent the ripening of the crops. The poppy is grown in Kishtwár and Bhadráwah. Kishtwár is a part of the Udhampur district.

Jhelam Valley: (a) Vale of Kashmír with adjoining glens and mountains. This first division of the Jhelam Valley extends from the source above Vernág to Báramúla, and embraces not only the Vale of Kashmír, over 80 miles long and from 20 to 25 miles in breadth, but the glens which drain into it and the mountains that surround it. It therefore includes cultivation of all sorts from rich irrigated rice fields to narrow plots terraced up mountain slopes on which buckwheat and the beardless Tibetan barley are grown. The administrative. divisions are the

wazárat or district of South Kashmir and the southern part of North Kashmír. The central valley has an elevation of 6000 feet. It was undoubtedly once a lake bed. Shelving fan-shaped "karewas" spread out into it from the bases of the hills. The object of the Kashmírí is to raise as much rice as he possibly can on the alluvium of his valley and on the rich soil deposited on the banks of mountain streams. Manure and facilities for irrigation exist in abundance, and full use is made of them in the cultivation of the favourite crop. Kangní takes the place of rice in many fields if there is any deficiency of water. On reclaimed swamps near the Jhelam heavy crops of maize are raised. The tillage for wheat and barley is as careless as that for rice is careful. The cultivation of saffron (Crocus sativus) on karewas is famous, but the area is now limited, as the starving people ate up the bulbs in the great famine of 1877 and recovery is slow. Saffron is used as a pigment for the sectarian marks on the forehead of the orthodox Hindu and also as a condiment. The little floating vegetable gardens on the Dal Lake are a very curious feature. The "demb" lands on the borders of the same lake are a rich field for the market gardener's art. He fences a bit of land with willows, and deposits on it weeds and mud from the lake bed. He is of the boatman or Hanz caste, whose reputation is by no means high, and can himself convey by water his vegetables and fruits to the Srínagar market. The production of fruit in Kashmír is very large, and the extension of the railway to Srínagar should lead to much improvement in the quality and in the extent of the trade. It may also improve the prospects of sericulture.

(b) Jhelam Gorge and Valley of Kishnganga: The Jhelam gorge below Báramúla is narrow and the cultivation is usually terraced. The Kishnganga joins the Jhelam near Muzaffarábád. The Muzaffarábád district includes the Jhelam gorge and the lower part of the valley of the Kishnganga. The upper part is in the Uttarmachhipura tahsíl of the district of North Kashmír.

Indus Valley: (a) Ladákh including Zánskar and Rupshu. Some description of Ladákh and its scenery has already been given. It may be divided into Rupshu, Zánskar, and Ladákh proper with Leh as its centre. Rupshu in the south-east is a country of great brackish lakes in no part less than 13,500 feet above sea level. At such a height cultivation must be very difficult, but a little beardless Tibetan barley is raised. The

scanty population consists mainly of nomad shepherds. In Ladákh the people are divided into shepherds or champas, who roam over the Alpine pastures, and Ladákhís, who till laboriously every available patch of culturable land in the river valleys. Though both are Buddhists they rarely intermarry. Zánskar to the N.W. of Rupshu is drained by the river of the same name, which flows northwards to join the Indus below Leh. It forms part of the Kargil tahsíl. Zánskar is a bleak inaccessible region where the people and cattle remain indoors for six months of the year. Its breed of ponies is famous. In Ladákh proper cultivation ranges from 9000 to 15,000 feet.

The sandy soil must be manured and irrigated, and is often refreshed by top-dressings of fresh earth from the hill sides. The crops are wheat and barley, rape, lucerne, peas and beans, in spring, and buckwheat, millets, and turnips, in autumn. There is a great lack of wood for building and for fuel, and the deficiency in the latter case has to be supplied by cow-dung cakes. Notwithstanding their hard life the people are cheerful and fairly well off, for polyandry has prevented overcrowding.

(b) Báltistán. In Báltistán, which lies to the N.W. of Ladákh, they are Muslims and there is much more pressure on the soil. They are a cheery race and very fond of polo. To support their families the men have to work as carriers on the roads to Leh and Gilgit. They tend the cattle in the pastures, keep the irrigation channels and the walls of the terraced fields in repair, and do the ploughing. The rest of the work of cultivation is left to the women. The climate is very severe and most of the rivers are frozen in winter. On the other hand near the

Indus on the Skardo plain (7250 feet) and in the Rondu gorge further west, the heat is intense in July and August. The dreary treeless stony Deosai Plains on the road to Kashmír have an elevation of 13,000 feet.

The cultivation and crops are much the same as in Ladákh. Excellent fruit is grown, and there is a considerable export of apricots. Gold washing is carried on with profit.

Ladákh and Báltistán together form the Ladákh wazárat, divided into the three tahsíls of Ladákh, Kargil, and Skardo.

(c) Astor and Gilgit.—Where the Gilgit road from Kashmír descends from the Burzil pass (13,500 feet) the country of Astor is reached. It is

drained by the Astor river, which joins the Indus to the south of Bunji. The bridge which crosses it at Ramghát is only 3800 feet above sea level. The village of Astor itself is at a height of 7853 feet. The cultivation is of the same description as that in Báltistán. The aspect of the country is bleak till the Indus is crossed, and Gilgit (4890 feet) is reached. Here there is a fertile well-watered oasis from which on every side great mountain peaks are visible. The lands are heavily manured. Rice, maize, millet, buckwheat, cotton, wheat, barley, rape, and lucerne are grown. There is a second and easier road to Gilgit from India over the Bábusar pass at the top of the Kágan Glen in Hazára.

But the posts are sent by the Kashmír road. The Astorís and Gilgitís are a simple easy-going folk, and, like the Báltís, very fond of polo. A British Political Agent is stationed at Gilgit. He is responsible to the Government of India for the administration of Hunza, Nagar, and Yasín, and of the little republics in the neighbourhood of Chilás. Hunza and Nagar lie to the north of Gilgit near the junction of the Muztagh and Hindu Kush ranges, and Yasín far to the west above the upper waters of the Gilgit River.

In Astor and Gilgit also Guláb Singh's Dogras repláced the Sikh troops. But across the Indus Guláb Singh was never strong, and after 1852 that river was his boundary. He died in 1857, having proved himself a hard and unscrupulous, but a capable and successful ruler. His son, Randhír Singh, was a better man, but a worse king. A good Hindu, tolerant, and a friend of learning, he had not the force and stamina to control the corrupt official class, and the people suffered much in consequence. He was a loyal ally in the Mutiny. In 1860 his forces recovered Gilgit, a conquest which for years after was a fruitful source of suffering to his Indus subjects. The present Mahárája, Sir Pratáp Singh, G.C.S.I., succeeded in 1885. While he lived his brother, Rája Amar Singh, played a very important part in Kashmír affairs. From 1887 to 1905 the administration was managed by a small council, of which after 1891 the Mahárája was President and Rája Amar Singh Vice-President.

It was abolished in 1905. There are now under the Mahárája a chief minister and ministers in charge of the home and revenue departments. Judicial business is controlled by the Judge of the High Court. Death sentences must be confirmed by the Mahárája. The highest executive officers are the governors of Jammu and Kashmír, and the Wazírs

Wazárat of Ladákh and Gilgit. In Jammu and Kashmír each of the eight districts is in charge of a Wazír Wazárat. In connection with the land revenue settlement, forests, etc., the services of British officers have been lent to the State. The Government of India is represented at Srínagar by a Resident, and a political agent at Gilgit exercises a general supervision over the Wazír Wazárat.

During the reign of the present Mahárája great reforms have been effected. The construction of the Gilgit road has done away with the blood tax, which the conveyance of supplies to that remote post formerly involved. The land revenue settlement has largely substituted cash for kind payments and done away with many abuses. Official corruption and oppression have been scotched, but would speedily revive if vigilance were relaxed. The different peoples ruled by the Mahárája are easily governed if properly treated and violent crime is rare.

CITIES:

Under this title, Sir James Douie, privides vived description of cities, likes Delhi, Lahore and Simla. After these he provides the following interesting information about the capital city of Srinagar.

Srínagar: (34.5 N., 74.5 E.), the summer capital of the Mahárája of Kashmír, is beautifully situated on both banks of the river Jhelam at a level of 5250 feet above the sea. To the north are the Hariparvat or Hill of Vishnu with a rampart built by Akbar and the beautiful Dal Lake. Every visitor must be rowed up its still waters to the Násim Bágh, a grove of plane (chenâr) trees, laid out originally in the reign of the same Emperor. Between the lake and the town is the Munshí Bágh, in and near which are the houses of Europeans including the Residency. The splendid plane trees beside the river bank, to which house boats are moored, and the beautiful gardens attached to some of the houses, make this a very charming quarter. The Takht i Sulimán to the west of Srínagar is crowned by a little temple, whose lower walls are of great age. The town itself is intersected by evil-smelling canals and consists in the main of a jumble of wooden houses with thatched roofs. Sanitary abominations have been cleansed from time to time by great fires and punished by severe outbreaks of cholera. The larger part of the existing city is on the left side. The visitor may be content to view the parts of the town to be seen as he is rowed down the broad waterway from the Munshí Bágh passing under picturesque wooden bridges, and be-

side temples with shining metal roofs and the beautiful mosque of Sháh Hamadán. On the left bank below the first bridge is the Shergarhí with the Mahárája's houses and the Government Offices. Opposite is a fine ghát or bathing place with stone steps. Between the third and fourth bridges on the right bank is Sháh Hamadán's mosque, a carved cedar house with Buddhist features, totally unlike the ordinary Indian mosque. The stone mosque close by on the opposite side, built by the Mughal queen and seemingly rejected by Muslims as founded by a woman, is now a State granary. The Jama Masjid is on the north side, but not on the river bank. The tomb of the great king, Zain ul Ábidín, is below the fourth bridge, which bears his name. In the same quarter are the store-houses of the dealers in carpets and art wares.

The learned author provides the following information about the other cities and towns of Kashmir, Baltistan, Jammu and Ladakh.

Báramúla: 34·1 N.—74·2 E. Situated at the point where the Jhelam gorge ends and the Vale of Kashmír begins. Travellers who intend to go to Srínagar by water board their house boats here. There is an excellent poplar-lined road from Báramúla to Srínagar and a bad road to Gulmarg.

Gulmarg: 34·1 N.—74·4 E. S.W. of Srínagar. It is a favourite hot weather resort of Europeans. The Mahárája has a house here. The forest scenery is beautiful, especially on the way to the limit of trees at Khilanmarg. Good golf links on beautiful turf.

Gurais: 34·7 N.—74·8 E. A beautiful valley drained by the head waters of the Kishnganga. It lies between Bandipura and the Burzil Pass on the road to Gilgit.

Hunza: 36·4 N.—74·7 E. Hunza is a group of villages.

The Rajá's (or Tham's) fort, Baltit castle, at an elevation of 7000 feet is splendidly situated in full view of Rakaposhi, distant 20 miles. It is overhung by the enormous mass of snow peaks said to be called in the language of the country Boiohaghurduanasur (the peak of the galloping horse).

Islámábád: 33·4 N.—75·1 E. About 40 miles by river from Srínagar, near the point where the Jhelam ceases to be navigable. Achabal and Mártand are easily visited from Islámábád, and it is the starting point for the Liddar Valley and Pahlgam. It is a dirty insanitary place.

Jammu: 32·4 N.—74·5 E. Capital of the Jammu province and wineesidence of the Mahárája, connected with Siálkot by rail. Situated e the ravine in which the Tawí flows. At a distance the white-washed ples with gilded pinnacles look striking. The town was once much more prosperous than it is to-day.

Leh: 34·2 N.—77·5 E. Capital of Ladákh on the Indus 11,500 feet above sea-level. The meeting place of caravans from India and Yárkand. The Central Asian caravans arrive in autumn, when the bazár, in a wide street lined with poplars, becomes busy. The Wazír Wazárat has his headquarters here, and there is a small garrison in the mud fort. The old palace of the Gyalpo (King) is a large pile on a ridge overhanging the town. There are Moravian and Roman Catholic missions at Leh.

Mártand: 33·4 N.—75·1 E. Remains of a remarkable temple of the Sun god three miles east of Islámábád.

Payer (erroneously Payech): Nineteen miles from Srínagar containing a beautiful and well-preserved temple of the Sun god, dated variously from the fifth to the thirteenth century.

Poonch: 33·4 N.—74·9 E. Capital of the jágír of the Rája of Poonch, a feudatory of the Kashmír State, 3300 feet above sea level. There is a brisk trade in grain and ghí. Decent roads connect Poonch with Ráwalpindí and Urí on the Jhelam. Cart Road into Kashmír. The Kashmíris call the place Prunts and its old name was Parnotsa.

Skardo: 35·3 N.—75·6 E. Old capital of Báltistán, 7250 feet above sea-level. In a sandy basin lying on both sides of the Indus, and about five miles in width.

2.

IRAN AND KASHMIR:

The name Iran has been applied to the country since Islamic times to modern Persia, from the Persian genitive Aryana or the land of the Aryans. However, we know it a country where the Persian language is the mother tongue of the masses. Its two great kings, Cyrus and Darius, who extended the Persian Empire from the Aral Sea and Jaxartes to Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Subsequently, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine and Elam and Assyria were subdued by them. Darius even annexed Thrace and Macedonia into his empire in 490 B. C. We also know Iran as the country, which was the fountained by Zoroastrianism.[1]

The name Kashmir is applied by Ptolemy to the region of Kasperia, situated below the sources of the Bidaspes (Jehlum) and of the Sandabal (Chinab) and of the Adris (Iravati). It is important to note that Kasperia, the name given by Ptolemy to the alpine valley enclosed by the snowy mountains, presents us with an accurate enough transcript of the country's names in the forms of Kashmiria, Kashmir, and Kasheer.[2] However, we can safely assume that Kashmir is the country, where the Kashmiri language is the Mother-tongue of the masses. Since, the 14th Century, Kashmir has been mentioned as Iran-i-Sageer or the Little Iran in Persian literature. Allama Iqbal, the great poet of the East who composed his verses in Persian and Urdu, makes mention of this notion in there verses.

Aaj wo Kashmeer hay mehkoom, majboor wo faqir,

Kal jissey Ahhi Nazar kehtey thay Iran-i-Sageer.[3]

At present that Kashmir is enslaved, subdued and poor which was known, till yesterday to scholars as the Little Iran?

SIMILARITIES:

What is common between the countries? For this, it is necessary to study the past, legend, history, literature and culture.

a) Both Iran and Kashmir are the inheritors of rich historical past. Both the countries were occupied by the waves of Aryans during pre-historic times. Both the countries had great kings who conquered territories. If in Iran, we find Cyrus and Darius conquering other lands, we have Lalitaditya Muktapida and Sultan Shahab-uddin extending their sway from Tibet to Northern India.[4]

b) Ibn Khaldun says that Iranies are the only people among the Muslims who are engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing of systematic scholarly works. Literary works of Iran consists of Persian classics in prose and poetry by Firdusi, Saadi, Hafiz, Omar Khayam Gazali and others.

Kalhana, the historian, says that Kashmir is the land of Sarada or Saraswati, the goddess of learning.[6] Sanskrit remained the official language of Kashmir upto the 14th Century, till the conversion of Gyalpo Rinchana the Buddhist king of Kashmir to Islam. However, in the early period Persian and Arabic words started becoming current for the next century, when Persian became the official language. In Sanskrit, the Kashmiris can boast of great authors like Abhinavagupta who wrote the famous Tantraloka. In the domain of historiography, Kashmir produced a great historian Kalhana, who was succeeded by Jonaraja, Suka, Srivares and Prajabhata. Later the tradition of working historical works passed on to the Kashmiri scholars, who wrote in Persian.

THE SAYYID OF IRAN:

Even though the Iran-Kashmir interaction dates back to pre-Islamic times, the Iranian culture, language and arts started their impact in the Valley since the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir in about 1320 A.D.

The introduction of Islam in Kashmir begun by travelers, traders and adventures received further impetus from Saints and Sufis of Iran who subsequently came to the Valley. Sayyid Sharif-ud-din, properly known as Bulbul Shah Qalandar Ardabal, Iran was the first Sufi Saint to enter Kashmir during the reign of Gyalpo Rinchana. The illustrious Sayyid was a direct descendent of Imam Musa Kazmin, a Sufi Dervish belonging to the Saif Sufi Order established by Sayyid Saifi-uddin Ishaq

of Ardabal, Azarbayjan. Iran. The author of Baharistan-i-Shahi clearly states that the Buddhist king, Rinchana, whose heart had been blackened previously by false beliefs, now subjected himself to the Shariah of Mustafa and Tariqah of Murtaza.[7]

Bulbul Shah Qalandar led 'a life of complete self-abnegation' and 'cast an enormous influence on the people amongst whom he worked and lived'. After the conversion of Rinchana he started preaching Islam openly and succeeded in converting some influential Kashmiris including Rinchan Shah's brother-in-law and commander-in-chief. The king was so much inspired by Bulbul Shah Qalandar that he built a Khanqah for him, which according to many historians, was the first Khanqah built in Kashmir. Bulbul Shah Qalandar died in 727 A.H. His tomb is situated on eastern side of river Jehlum near Ali Kadal, Srinagar.

Sultan Shahab-ud-din (1354-73) made Islamic Kashmir a power to reckon with. Within two years of his succession, Tibet, Khasgar and Kabul were added to the Kingdom of Kashmir. His reign was characterized by peace, prosperity and rule of law. In his golden reign began an influx of Sufis, ulema, litterateurs, poets, technologists, scientists, craftsmen, artists, traders, and travelers particularly from Persia and Central Asia. The most celebrated of these Sayyids was Mir Syed Ali Hamadani the mureed of the famous Sufi Murshid, Sheikh Mehmood Mazdaqani of Hamadan, Iran. He was a prolific traveler in his times and traveled far and while throughout the Muslim World. Consequently, he undertook the Haj thrice and traveled for twenty one years. During these journeys he saw the Islamic and other countries and met the holy men there. To avoid persecution in his homeland at the hands of Timur, he moved to Kashmir, thrice has been lovingly titled by the Kashmiris as Shah Hamadan or the King of Hamadan. He is also known as Bani-a-Musalmani or the Crescentader, who brought them en-masse within the fold of Islam through the Sufi message of love, harmony and brotherhood. While giving his spiritual message he did not ignore the material needs of his disciples. He imported about seven hundred Sayyids from Central Asia to introduce several handi-crafts into Kashmir such as Kar-i-Qalam-dani or papier-mache; shawls. Paper-making, namdas, metal inlay works and Khatum-band. He also introduced Persian and Arabic learning and calligraphy, Persian dress and culture and Islamic Fiqah or Jurisprudence. His idea of building various Khanqahs or the

Sufi convents, in Kashmir, was meant to create the Sufi Brotherhood Communes of Muslims. He played an important part in the socio-political affairs of Kashmir and brought about reconciliation between Sultan Shahab-uddin of Kashmir and Sultan Firozeshad Tughlak of Delhi.[8]

This great Sufi saint of Iran, not only transformed the 14th century caste-ridden people of Kashmir into the enlightened people, but also gave them a sound economic, social and spiritual base to stand as a civilized people among the comity of nations. He used Islamic esoteric as a means of human development. In the words of Dr, Iqbal,

Ta Ghazali Daras'e Allah;ho Girift
Zikr va Fikr Az Dodh'maan ou Girift
Murshid'e Un'n Kishvar'e Minoo Nazir
Mir va Darvesh va Salatin ra Musheer
Khita'e ra An'n Shah'e Darya Aastin
Dadh Ilam va Sanat va Tahzib va Deen
Aafrid Un'n Mard'e Iran-i-Sageer
Ba'a Hunar Hai Gharib va Dil Pazeer
Yak Nagah'e Ou Gushayad Sad'd Girah
Kheez va Teerish ra Ba'dil Rah Bi'dah!

Translate Form:-

Ghazali; attaineth a lesson in divinity
Lesson in word and thought from his peers
Guideth, he the country a la paradise
Guideth the noble, the dervish, the king
Giveth the region, that benevolent Shah
Knowledge, the industry; culture and religion
Provideth all; that man of Iran-i-Sageer
By his far and wide ranging artistic touch
A look of him enough to open hundred knots
Get up and let the look sink in deep in heart![9]

Mir Syed Ali Hamadani has been the principal historial figure who has shaped the culture of Kashmir. His influence on arts and culture and the economy of the Valley cannot be overstated. Among the seven hundred followers who accompanied him to Kashmir, were men of arts and crafts who popularized Shawl-making, carpet-manufacturing, cloth-weaving, pottery and calligraphy. The skills and know how they bought to Kashmir gave rise to an industry which is world famous even now. The many vocations he introduced in the Valley have provided a livelihood to the artisans of Kashmir for centuries.

PERSIAN LEGACY:

We have no hesitation in saying that while Persian language is the identity of Iranies the Koshur language is the identity of Kashmiris. With the advent of the Muslim rule in Kashmir, Persian started establishing itself as the language of the elite. Late Sanskrit was replaced by Persian as a court language by Sultan Shahab-uddin (1335-1373). It continued as a court language during the Mughal, the Afghan and the Sikh periods in Kashmir history. It was during the reign of Sultan Zain-abidin Budshah that the Persian language made program. He established a translation burean, where books from other languages we translated at Persian. The translations from Sanskrit into Persian were done a highly literate sections of Kashmiri Pandits named as the Karkun;

Thus the Persian literature in Kashmir was enriched by both the Pandits and the Muslims. It is creditable that Muslim scholars in Arabic like Mulla Ahmad became proficient in Sanskrit and even Zan-al-abidin the Sultan learnt Sanskrit. While Yodha-Bhatta, a Kashmiri Pandit mastered the Shah-Nama of Firdusi Mulla Ahmad, translated the Mahabharata into Persian.

The Kashmiris, who got attracted towards the Persian language, many among them produced original works into Persian. Notable among them are Mohsin Fani, the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib and Mulla Tahir Ghani Kashmiri, the renowned Kashmiri poets, in whose search, Taib, an Iranian poet came in search alongwith his friends. A Kashmiri scholar is rightly summarized.

"For centuries later on ties between Kashmir and Iran remained strong in as much as the Kashmiri ethos bore a deep impression of Iranian culture till not long ago. Persian influence has been deep on the

history, architecture, literature and almost on every other aspect of life here. Most of the classics in history, literature, poetry and medicine (Tibb) and of even most of the official records have been written by Kashmiri scholars in Persian."

MUSIC:

During the rule of the Chak dynasty, the Persian music becomes very popular in Kashmir. The royal courts were thronged with musicians from Persia. The Chak rulers were not only patrons of music, built some them acquired a high degree of skill in the playing musical instruments. It was Mulla Jamal who introduced Persian lyrics in Kashmir, with Muqamaats or Ragas. Then came the Sufiana Kalam or Chorus songs of the Sufis. Among the most prominent Muqamaats in the Sufiana Kalam are Rast-i-Farsi, Panjgah Isfahani, Chargah and Shah Nawaz. Even IRani schools of music were who established in Kashmir, during the Sultanate period (1320-1589). Even the queen Habba Khatoon, evolved a new style of Kashmiri music called Rast-Kashmiri.

FLOWERS, TREES AMD FRUITS:

Iran and Kashmir among the countries, where Saffron was cultivated for the first time. It was introduced into Spain by the Muslim conquerors in about 961 A.D. It was taken to China by the Kashmiri Buddhist monks after the 4th Buddhist Council in the 2nd century. However, some of the followers, while were imported into Kashmir from Iran or were given Persian names, as Yasman, Jafri, Abbasi, Gul-i-Dawood, Sumbal-i-Farsi, Gul Ashrafi, Gul Tarang, Gul Anmbueen, Marjan, Gul Cheen, Gul Raina.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the Chinar is an imported tree from Iran, while many think that it is an indigenous tree and is known as Boun in Kashmir.

Among the fruit trees, which are said to have come from Iran to Kashmir, are: Bahi, (Bhum Chunt) Anjeer, and Aloocha.

TAKHT-I-SULAIMAN:

We do have distinct mountains in Iran and Kashmir, popularly known as the Takht-i-Sulaiman or the Throne of Solomon. It is also believed that the Jewish King , Solomon possessed some kind of space-

craft, which he used to fly to various countries. Perhaps, some mountains in Kashmir and Iran are flat-topped, which make them as a safe landing pad for air-ships. According to the local legends, Solomon came to Kashmir on his space-craft, which rested on this hill, in Srinagar. There is a temple on the hill, with a unique feature – its uncanny layout resembling the sacred geometry. Nearby, towards the north, is a simple, almost hidden stone room 10'-8" square, entered through a plain and nearby circular-headed low door way. There are long stone because by laying under one, and looking up with a flash-light, is found in ancient anmaic inscription. In the past, the Pandits had named this hill as Gopadari and the temple as the temple of Jyesht – Eshwara or Jyest the God. It is amazing that Jesu or Yuzu or Yeshu is the name of Jesus. One of the inscriptions among the four photographed by Hardy Cole in 1869 and published in his Illustration of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, reads.

Eeen Satoon – ashraf Elikim bin Marjan or the pillar of honor of Eli-Kim, Son of Marjan. It is interesting to remark that Marjan – a Kashmri damsal was the consort of Yuzu – Asaph, whose tomb at Rozabal in Srinagar is visited by the devotees from Kashmir and abroad.

THE SUN WORSHIP:

Zoroaster, (660 B.C.) the founder of Zoroastrian faith in Iran is said to have born in the Valley of Kashmir or some place near this country. The Bhavishya Maha Purana, while giving the background of Jarasabada or Zoroaster, informs that he performed meditation in the mountains of Iran. Then he resented a new faith on the basis of the old Vedic beliefs. This religion spread across Persia under the patronage of Persian Kings. He declared that God is one, who is to be worshipped and he is represented by two forces of light and darkness. The whole creation is the result of the struggle between these two forces.

The connection between Kashmir and Zoroaster need further research. Kanishka, the King of Kashmir is said to ask his people to observe a special day of light by igniting of tires and lamps. Some coins of the Kanishka carry the impression of burning lights. At the same times, the Sun temples of Kashmir have strong links with the teaching of Zoroaster, where worship of fire or the Sun is obligatory. Such motifs of the Sun worship are clearly depicted in the tiles at Harwan and Kutabal, establishing links of Iran with Kashmir.

WAZAWAN:

According to Sonel, the Kashmir Cuisine has some connection with the Iranian Cuisine. The beverages Khewa is common in both the countries, but some sort of intimate connection is found among the Kashmir Pandits. In there dishes, Chamni qaliya, Kofta, Roganjosh, Kabargah and Yakhin are definitely Iranian. Among the Muslims, the royal cuisine is internationally known as Wazawan. It consists of about thirty-six courses. Some are definitely connected with Iran, such as; Aab-gosht, Kabab, Tabak-Maaz, Rogan-Josh and Yakhein.

NAU ROZ AND NAU REH:

Like in the Iran, the agricultural year in Kashmir is divided into the four seasons of summer, Heat, autumn and winter. Nau Roz or the New Day is the first day of the summer. It falls, usually on the 20th of March every year at a particular time and moment, when the Sun enters into the new constellation. The astrologers announces this auspicious moment in advance. Some in Kashmir would determine the moment by noting the collision between two Walnuts, put in a basin of water. Noting the auspicious time, the astrologers draft predictions about the events to happen during the agriculture year. These predictions pertain to agricultural produce, rain fall, floods and draught. There are predictions about political events in the country as well as epidemics and upheavals in the country.

In the Kashmir, Nau Roz is observed as the day of festival and official holiday. People wear new clothes on this occasion and special dishes and delicacies are prepared on this occasion. They visit friends and relatives, offering presents the pious among the Shia Muslims, both in Iran and Kashmir, connect the Nau Roz, with the ascendation of Ali, the Imam, the son-in-law of the Glorious Prophet. As such, they sit in a decorated room, around a Dastarkhan, with plates of estables, sweets, milk and water. Then Isband, the Kashmiri frankincense is burnt in Kangris to give a pleasant smell in the room. After this special incantations are made by reciting verses from the Holy Quran and then blowing breath into the flash of water. Later this water is drunk with a belief that the person drinking will not fall ill. This water is also sprinkled in house as well as agricultural fields for protection and abundance.

The Kashmiri Pandits who are the original and earlier inhabitants

of Kashmir observe Nau Reh or the New Year with special ceremonies. For them, the New Year starts on the 27th of March every year. It is a special and auspicious day for them, followed by week-long celebrations. At a special moment fired by the Pandit astrologers, the members of the household, wearing new clothes, sit around a table for observing a ceremony called Thaal Baran – meaning filing up of the Vessel. On the table are placed in brass plates, nine things, like money, book, pen, almanac, mirror, salt, walnuts, curd and rice. Special incantations from the Shiv –Sutras are recited to please the gods. Then, the Guru, who is invited to perform the ceremony, binds colored threads round the ankles of the participants and marks their foreheads with Tilak. These traditions have come to Kashmir from Iran during ancient times.

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3.

BUDDHIST HERITAGE OF KASHMIR:

Kashmir is an ancient land mentioned in the Greek classics of Ptolemy, Dionysios, Hekataios and Herodotos. The Chinese have referred Kashmir and there are clear references to the Valley in the Annals of the Hanshu and the Tang dynasty. The Arabic works of Al-Masudi, Al-Qazwini, Al-Idrisi and Al-Beruni also refer to *Qashmir*. The Greeks, refer to Kashmir as *Kaspapyros* and describe it as one of the cities of Gandhara. To-Yeng and Sung-yuan (578 A.D.) call it as *Shie-mi*, while Hieun Tsiang (631 A.D.) described it as *Kia-shi-mi-lo*. The Tibetans refer to Kashmir as *Khachul* but the Valley is known as *Kashrat* in Daradistan. Kashmir is known to its inhabitants as Kashir.

Kashmir is surrounded by a girt of mountains, which is crossed through a few mountains. Ou-Kong (759A.D.) has described the 3 passes leading to the Valley. One pass leads from *Tou-fan* (Tibet); the other from *Po-liu* (Baltistan) and the third from *Kien-to-lo* (Gandhara). It is evident that Kashmir had established links with the people of Ladakh, Tibet, Gilgit, Taxila and Peshawar from earliest times.

Kashmir is known as the Paradise on Earth. It has been acclaimed as a land of bliss, peace and contentment. It may be noted that after its exile from the place of its birth, Buddhism found its refuge in Kashmir. "The influence of Kashmir was very marked, especially in the spread of Buddhism beyond India. From Kashmir it penetrated into Qandhar and Kabul and thence over Bactria. Tibetan Buddhism has also its essential origin from Kashmir; so great is the importance of this region in the history of this religion."

EARLY SETTLERS IN KASHMIR:

Among the early settlers in Kashmir were the three tribes, known

as the Nagas, the Pisachas and the Yakshas. They came from Nagar, Hunza and other areas of Daradistan. During the ancient period of our history, each tribe had its settlement around a lake or a spring. In Kashmir, a spring is known as a *Nag*. These early settlers had to clear forests from the wild animals and snakes, which they feared and respected. As such, they started worship of the snakes. Then came the Aryan tribes, who introduced their customs and rituals in the Valley. However, in the beginning they met with opposition from the Nagas.

In our ancient literature, Kashmir was shown as a part of Gandhara, which may be termed as a cultural or political unit extending from Anantnag in Kashmir to Peshawar, with Taxila, as its centre. Before the rise of Buddhism in Gandhara, the whole area was under the Nagas. In the old traditions, we find some big scholars, who belong to the Naga race. Kapila, who is considered the founder of materialistic philosophy or the *Sakya-Darshan,* was a Naga. Patanjali, the author of *Paramaratha-Sara*, who is also known as an *Avatara* of Shesha-Naga, was also a Naga. Exactly, in the same way, Naga-Arjuna, and Naga-Bodhi, who command much respect in the Buddhist world, were also Nagas. They were against the Aryan caste system, their religious pantheon and superiority complex. Hence, when the message of Buddhism reached them, they were the first to accept it. It is certain that Buddhism came to Gandhara and Kashmir at the same time. In the Kashmiri chronicles, it has been mentioned that 150 years prior to Naga-Arjuna, a Buddhist scholar, Sakya-Simha, preached Buddhism in Kashmir.

FIRST BUDDHIST KING:

The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana begins with the description of the Kuru war, which occurred in about 1370 B.C. Gonada I of Kashmir lived in that period and the date of his accession has been fixed to 1260 B.C. Surendra is the first Buddhist ruler, who built the first Buddhist religious structure at Soura in Kashmir. He is also credited with having built several *Viharas* as well as the Buddhist centers of learning in the other parts of Valley. This fact also proves that Buddhism existed as a religion in Kashmir, even before the reign of Ashoka. His reign can be fixed in the middle of the 4th century B.C. It is recorded that during the rule of Asoka (269-227 B.C.), some monks of the *Sarvastivad* School fled away to Kashmir due to the lack of royal

patronage. The Cylonese sources reveal that it was Ashoka of Maghada, who deputed Madhyantika to Kashmir and Gandhara as a missionary. According to the Chinese sources, it was Madhyantika, a disciple of Ananda, who succeeded in bringing *Sarvastivad* Buddhism to Kashmir, after having subdued the Nagas by his supernatural powers. His journey to Kashmir has also been narrated in the Kashmiri sources.

It is reported that Madhyantika brought with him many Bhiksus for settlement and he himself remained in the Valley for nearly 20 years. He developed agriculture and also introduced saffron cultivation in Kashmir for the first time. After Surendra, we find another king devoted to Buddhism named Simha, who became a Buddhist monk and adopted the name of Sudarshana. He even attained *Arhathood* and established several monasteries in Kashmir.

The Greeks who had over-run Persia in the 6th century B.C. conquered Gandhara some time after 518 B.C. Alexander marched his armies into India in the beginning of 326 BC.. He was welcomed by the king of Abhisaras, whose sway extended to some parts of Kashmir also. After his departure the Greeks established certain cheifships in the regions extending in the north-west of India. Demetrious became the king of a vast territory, which included Kashmir also. Menandar who succeeded him exercised authority on Kashmir. A large number of Indo-Greek coins including those of Menandar, describing him as the King of north-western India, have been found in Kashmir and adjoining areas.

It was Menandar, who came under the influence of Buddhism. It goes to the credit of Nagasena, to have defeated Menandar in a religious discussion. This discussion was held at a place near Kashmir. The *Milindapanha* is best source of information on the history of early Buddhism in Kashmir. It informs that Menandar built the Milindavihara and joined the Sangha as a monk and finally attained *Arhathood.* The *Milindapanha* was written in Kashmiri, but latter on was translated into Pali.

The Indo-Greeks appear to have accepted the doctrine of Buddhism. The *Kharoshti* inscriptions found at Swat, Taxila and Lolab in Kashmir prove the existence of Buddhism during the third century B.C. These kings erected *Stupas*, constructed *Viharas* and installed im-

ages of Sakyamuni.

NAGAISM AND BUDDHISM:

As Kashmir formed a part of Gandhara during the ancient period, the whole area from Anantnag to Peshawar was termed as Gandhara. Its capital was situated at Taxila. The Nagas inhabited this area. They were always at war with the Aryans. After some centuries, they became masters of the Sanskrit learning and produced famous scholars, important among those are Kapila, Patanjali, and Naga-Arjuna. At the outset, the Buddhists had to face a strong opposition from the Nagas of Kashmir. However, Madhyantika succeeded in winning over the Nagas and they began to abandon the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the *Nilamatapurana.* Further, as they could not appreciate the caste system, they adopted the doctrine of Buddhism, which taught universal brotherhood. Subsequently, they started to worship the image of Buddha and mixed their own ceremonies with it. In the same way, the Greek, the Iranian and the Scythian doctrines got mixed up with the tenants of Buddhism.

ANTI-BUDDHIST JALAUKA:

Raja Jalauka, who came to the throne after the death of Raja Ashoka, has been mentioned as "the vanquisher of the Buddhists." He was a rank communalist, who let lose a rain of terror on the Nagas, by storming their habitations. At the instance of Avadhuta, he took a vow that he would follow only Shaivism. He persecuted the Buddhists, and destroyed their *Viharas* and *Stupas.* While patronizing Shaivism, he built Shiva temples on the Buddhists sites. Jalauka could not even tolerate the sound of the Buddhist hymns on the pretext that these disturbed his sleep and on this excuse, he got demolished all the Buddhist *Viharas.*

The Brahmanas are the worshippers of Shiva, Vishnu and their *Saktis.* Vasugupta is said to have founded Shaivism in Kashmir. In the beginning Buddhism had to face strong opposition from the Shaivists, which resulted in bringing much hindrance to its progress. But later on both the Buddhists and the Shaivists intermingled and Buddha was termed as an *Avatara* of Vishnu, with the result that separate entity of Buddhism vanished from the Valley.

KUSHANAS:

The Chinese history describes the *Guishuang*, or the Kushans, as one of the five tribes of the Yuezhi, who had been living in the arid grasslands of eastern Central Asia in the early first century AD. Kujula Kadphises the first Kushana king, invaded and expanded his sway on Afghanistan, Gandhara, and Punjab. He is the founder of the Kushana Empire. It was Kanishka, the fifth Kushan king, (57-89) who conquered the whole of north India, from Kashmir to Ujjain. Thus, he became the ruler of a vast Kushana Empire, which included ancient Bactria besides the vast regions of Kabul, Gandhara, Kashmir, Punjab, Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain and Patliputra. Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* makes mention of Kanishka, besides Hushka and Jushka, as the wise kings, who patronized Buddhism by building *Mathas, Caityas* and *Viharas.*

With the coming of the Kushanas, Buddhism received a tremendous support. There is no denying the fact that during their rule, Buddhists enjoyed royal patronage. The coins of Kanishka, Hushka or Huvishka have been located in Kashmir. In the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, we do have one rarest coin of Kanishka, with the representation of the standing Buddha in Hellenistic style and with a legend in Greek script mentioning *"Boddo".*

FOURTH BUDDHIST COUNCIL:

In about 63 A.D. Kanishka paid a royal visit to Kashmir to meet its ruler, Satya Simha, who had renounced the throne and had become a Buddhist monk. During discussion he felt impressed by the various arguments advanced by the former King Satya Simha and the sage Parshva. Upto that time, Kanishka had been influenced by the Greek, Iranian and Sumer doctrines and divinities. Now, in Kashmir, after meeting the great *Arhats*, he repented his past deeds and accepted the benevolent teachings of the Buddha. He was advised by Parshva to summon all the monks for collection of the sacred texts and to prepare commentaries of the *Sutras*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma.* Consequently, the 4th Buddhist Council was held at Kundalwan in Kashmir, which has been termed as *Kien-to-lo* by the Chinese. Besides the large audience, this Council was attended to by 500 *Arhats*, 500 *Bodhisattvas* and 500 *Panditas.* The event as described by Hiuen

Tsiang reads as under:

> *"Kanishka forthwith ordered these discourses to be engraved on sheets of red copper. He enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and having sealed this, he raised over it a Stupa with the scriptures in the middle. He commanded the Yakshas to defend the approaches to the Kashmir kingdom, so as not to permit the other sects to get these Shastras and take them away with the view that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruits of this labor."*

This Council is important because it marks the birth in Kashmir of a new and progressive Buddhism known as the *Mahayana*. These doctrines were carried to Kabul, Kandhar, Central Asia and Tibet by the Kashmiris. Kanishka patronized such activities and even, made a gift of Kashmir to the *Sangha*.

BUDDHIST MONUMENTS:

Kashmir's contribution to the development of Buddhism has been acknowledged and several historical evidences mention a large number of Buddhist relics to have existed in the Valley. A detailed description of some important Buddhist monuments is given below:

NARENDRABHAVANA:

Surendra, the son of Khagendra built a *Vihara*, known as Narendrabhavana in the town of Suru, in the Darada country, but the *Vihara* has not been traced so far.

SURASAVIHARA:

Surendra also built a *Vihara* called Saurasa *Vihara* at Soura on the shore of the Anchar Lake in Kashmir. This *Vihara* also remains unidentified.

JALOKAVIHARA:

Jaloka established a *Vihara* at Jalora, which may be identified with Zohlar in Zaingir, Sopore, Kashmir.

DHARMARANYAVIHARA:

Raja Asoka built a *Vihara* in the town of Vitastatra, which was lofty and high. He also built a *Stupa* at Suskaletra. Both the towns have been

identified as Vethavutur and Hukalitar, situated around the Verinag and Badgham. Some ancient relics were found at Verinag spring. At

Hukalitar, a few statues of the Buddha were found.

KRTYASRAMVIHARA:

Jaloka has been mentioned to have built the *Vihara* of Krtyasrama. This place has been identified with the village Kitshom, near Baramulla, Kashmir. Ou-Kong mentions this *Vihara* as *Ki-tche*.

JUSHKAPURAVIHARA:

Jushka is said to have built a *Vihara* at Jushkapura, a village to the north of Srinagar. Huska has been mentioned to have built a *Vihara* at Huskapura, mentioned as *Hu-se-kia-lo* by Hiuen Tsiang. It is known as Uskur now and is situated near Baramulla, Kashmir. Laltiyaditya (725-753 A.D.) also is reported to have built some *Stupas* and *Viharas* at Uskur.

AMRITABHAVANA:

Queen Amritaprahba built a *Vihara*, known as Amritabhavana for the use of foreign monks. Ou-Kong mentioned it as *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan*. Amritabhavana has been identified at Antbhavan, Vicharnag, 3 miles to the north of Srinagar. Remains of a *Vihara* have been found at this place.

LO-STONPAVIHARA:

A Ladakhi *guru* is said to have built a *Stupa*, called Lo-stumpa, during the reign of Meghavahana. The site of this *Vihara* has not been located as yet.

NADAVANA VIHARA:

Queen Yukadevi is said to have built a *Vihara* at Nadavana, which was a wonderful and beautiful Buddhist structure. Nadavana has been identified with Narvor in Srinagar, Kashmir. The *Vihara* is non existent at present.

INDRADEVIBHAVANA:

Queen Indradevi is said to have built a *Vihara*, called Indradevibhavanavihara. This *Vihara* is non existent at present.

KHADANAVIHARA:

Queen Khadana is said to have built a *Vihara* at Khadanyar near Baramulla, Kashmir. No traces of this structure are available now.

JAYENDRAVIHARA:

Jayendra, the material uncle of Parvarasena. He is reported to have built a *Vihara* known as Jayendravihara. With a colossal statue of the Buddha installed in it. Hiuen Tsiang has mentioned it as *Che-ye-in-to-lo* and on his arrival in Kashmir, he stayed here for some time. This *Vihara* was burned down by Ksemagupta and its Buddha statue was melted down by him to make a statue of Shiva. Location of this *Vihara* requires to be searched either at Chattabal, Srinagar or at Ushkar in Baramulla. Attached villages of the *Vihara*, being given to the Khasa chief, indicate Ushkur as the correct alternative.

SKANDAVHAVANAVIHARA:

Skandavhavanvihara was built by Skandagupta, one of the ministers of Yudhisthira. Its location has been determined as somewhere in the modern *Mohalla* of Khandabhavan in Srinagar, Kashmir. No traces of this *Vihara* are visible in the locality.

KRIDARAMAVIHARA:

Lalitaditya (725-753 A.D.) is credited to have constructed the Kridaram-Vihara, the exact position is unknown.

RAJAVIHARA:

Rajavihara was built by Lalitaditya at Parihaspura. It housed a colossal statue of the Buddha besides other relics of gold and silver. Parihaspura was the new capital built by the King near the confluence of the river Jehlum and the river Sindh on a plateau between Panznor and Hartarath near Divar-Ekamanpura. The plateau is nearly 2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The site of the capital is in ruins. Its material was transported by Shankravarman (883-902 A.D.) for the construction of Shiva temples at Pattan. The Rajavihara was burnt down by the royal troops of Harsha during the war against Uccala. Examination of the site reveals that the Rajavihara was a quadrangle of 26 cells around a square courtyard paved with stones. Its final destruction is attributed to Maharaja Pratap Singh, who permitted

carriage of its stones for construction of the Srinagar – Baramulla Road during 1892-1896.

CANKUNAVIHARA:

During, Lalitaditya's reign, Cankuna built a *Vihara* in Srinagar in which he placed the golden statues of the Buddha and *Bodhisattvas*. Cankuna appears to be the title of one of the ministers of Lalitaditya. As he was a Turk, it is evident that he came from Sinkiang and bore a Chinese title *Taiang Kiun*, which has been sanskritized by Kalhana.

JAYAPIDAVIHARA:

Jiyadipa (754-784 A.D.) built a large *Vihara* at Jayapura, in which he placed three statues of the Buddha. Jayapura has been identified as Anderkot, near Sumbal in Kashmir.

RATNADEVIVIHARA:

Queen Ratnadevi is reported to have got built a magnificent *Vihara* and a *Matha* at Ratnpur, now known as Ratnipora.

SHADARHAVANA:

At Harwan, 2 miles away from the Shalimar garden in Srinagar, near the water reservoir, a very important Buddhist site was discovered by R.C. Kak in 1925 A.D. He unearthed a *Stupa*, a set of cells and a rectangular courtyard with diaper pebble walls. A large number of tiles with Kharoshthi numerals and beautiful motifs and human figures were found, which shows that the site belongs to the later period of the Kushanas in Kashmir.

AHAN:

At Ahan, near Sumbal, on the banks of a tiny lake, known as Ahansar, another important Buddhist site was located by F.M. Hassnain in 1962. He unearthed a pavement decorated with the same kind of Harwan tiles, some pebble style walls and a dilapidated *Stupa*. No further excavations have been done at the site.

KUVANAVIHARA:

It was specially constructed as a venue of the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, held during the reign of Kanishka. It also known as

Kundalvanavihara, This important Buddhist site has not been located so far

RAITHAN AND RAJAGIR:

The village of Raithan at a distance of 12 Kilometers from Srinagar is situated in the vicinity of Yecchgam and Yecchkot, the original habitations of the Yakshas, the guardian tribes of the fourth Buddhist Council records. Many a Buddhist relics are found in the area, including the famous Buddha panel.

CONCLUSION:

Kashmir has played a lofty role in the history of Buddhism. It is from the Valley that the progressive type of Buddhism, called the *Mahayana*, was carried to China, Korea and the Pacific islands by the Kashmiri monks. Before its coming under the Hindu or Muslim rulers, Kashmir was a Buddhist country right from the 1st century to about 8th century A.D. It is a historical fact that Kanishka, the Kushan King of Kashmir, convened his 4th Buddhist Council in Kashmir. It was held at Kundalwan, and its discourses were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a *Stupa*, under orders of the King.

It seems that Kashmir is now emerging out of chaos and turmoil and is searching its roots and identity. These copper plates, deposited in a specially constructed *Vihara* in Kashmir are our precious heritage and we are proud of it. There is an urgent need to make serious efforts by the Kashmir University and the State Archaeology to search out these relics. As I have had the privilege of giving extension lectures on the Buddhist Culture in the Japanese Universities, I know that they will afford every material help to us in this search.

1. EXHIBITION OF BUDDHIST HERITAGE:

Most of our Buddhist heritage stands lost to us due to vandalism of the Hindu kings like Ksemagupta, Durbha-Vardhana, Avantivarman, and Shankravarman. They wiped out the entire Buddhist population by loot,arson and fire. They also destroyed several hundred *Viharas*, *Stupas* and other Buddhist structures, by converting them into Shiva temples and utilizing their building material for construction of their own temples. However, some part of our Buddhist heritage is still alive and in safe hands, which needs to be exhibited to the people

in the newly constructed S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. The details are as under:

a) *Gilgit Manuscripts:* These world famous Gilgit manuscripts were sent to the National Archives of India, New Delhi for repairs and renovation during the Tribal raids of 1947. Since then these manuscripts have not been returned to the Oriental Research and Publication Library, University of Kashmir, It is suggested that steps be taken by the Institute of Kashmir Studies, University of Kashmir, to bring back this, our Buddhist heritage in Kashmir, so that the re-editing work be started again, as in the past.

b) *Tiles of Harwan:*- The tiles, from the courtyard and platform discovered by R.C. Kak and shown by him in his Ancient Monuments of Kashmir at page XIX to XXIII have been uplifted by the Archaeological Survey of India, during the militancy and taken outside Kashmir.

The University of Kashmir and its Institute of Kashmir Studies may take measures to ask them to return back our Buddhist heritage. On the World Heritage Day, the Vice Chancellor of the Kashmir University has already made this demand in his public lecture at Pari Mahal. The University and its task force may be asked to pursue this matter with the Archaeological Survey of India

2. ASHOKA STUPA:

The fact is that *Srinagri,* the capital of Kashmir was founded by Ashoka, a Buddhist King, who is credited to have erected several *Stupas* and *Viharas* around his capital, at and around Pandrethan. During this period this city extended from the Gopa hill to Khadoori or the modern Khrew. The whole area which is at present occupied by the military cantonments built during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1948) was a royal site, where several palaces were built by Ashoka. Towards the southern side, above the mountain spur, he is credited to have built a huge *Stupa* in honor of the Buddha. Some of the stone statues of the Buddha, which were removed from the site, have been deposited into the S.P.S Museum, Lal Mandi, Srinagar.

In order to commemorate our Buddhist heritage, it is essential to rebuild the Ashoka Stupa at Pandrethan. Such a measure on our part

will be appreciated by the Buddhists of China, Burma, Korea and Japan and the tourists of those countries, would visit this Buddhist monument every year. It will be a great attraction for the Buddhist pilgrims, who will follow the example of the earlier Chinese pilgrims like Che-yan, Che-Mong, Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-Kong and others.

3. THE TOOTH OF BUDDHA:

Hiuen Tsiang points out, that Kashmir used to possess a miraculous tooth of the Buddha, preserved in a *Sangharama* situated about *10 li* southeast of the new capital. Now, if one tries to transfer to a map the data furnished by the Chinese pilgrim, one perceives that the *Vihara* sheltering the tooth of the Buddha must have stood, close to the narrow gap between the Zabarwan mountain and the Gopadari hill, known as Aitgajor 'the passage of the Sun.'

Walter Lawrence, in his the *Valley of Kashmir* informs that a Ladakhi Lama, told him that the Gopadari situated towards the north of Pandrethan, was a sacred place for the Buddhists, who used to call it *Pushpahari.* Naropa, the great Kashmiri *Kalachakra* Tantric used to stay in the sacred sanctuary of the Gopadari. It is suggested to search out the remains of this Stupa, situated in the private estate of Maharaja Karan Singh between Hari Vivas and the Ziarat.

4. STUPA AT KHANMOH:

Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the Valley of Kashmir in about 631 A.D, the capital of Kashmir covered a vast area from Gopadari to Khrew and included the villages of Pandachookh, Zevan, Jawala, Khanmoh and Lado. He also records the existence of several hundred Buddhist *Viharas* in Kashmir. In particular, he informs about a famous Stupa near Khanmoh where there existed a huge statue of *Avalokiteshwara* Bodhisattva and another *Vihara* which housed the tooth of Buddha. Unfortunately, most of these Buddhist shrines were converted into the Shiva temples by the Hindu Kings of Kashmir (519-1320 AD.). While lamenting over this destruction, Hieun Tsiang in his *Si-yu-Ki,* names these Shiva temples, as the temples of the heretics.

Now, in order to honor our Buddhist heritage, it is necessary to re-erect a Buddhist *Stupa* at Khanmoh.

Brammah

Brammah is a mountain massif in the Kishtwar Himalaya of Jammu and Kashmir, India, east of the town of Kishtwar and near the border with Himachal Pradesh. It comprises four peaks, listed in order from west to east:

- Brammah I, 6,416 m (21,050 ft), first ascent 1973
- Flat Top, 6,103 m (20,023 ft), first ascent 1980
- Brammah II, 6,485 m (21,276 ft), first ascent 1975
- Arjuna, 6,230 m (20,440 ft), first ascent 1983.

Note that Brammah II is the highest of the group, contrary to usual practice. While Brammah I is not the highest, it is the most dramatic, as it is situated at the western end of the massif, above a low base. Brammah I is particularly notable both for its huge rise above local terrain and for its being the site of the first successful major climb in the Kishtwar Himalaya. Famed British mountaineer Chris Bonington, along with Nick Estcourt, and aided by the Indian Institute of Skiing and Mountaineering, made the first ascent of Brammah I in 1973 via the Southeast Ridge. Estcourt notes that "it is not the highest peak in Kishtwar, but it is the most obvious and elegant." The second ascent of Brammah I was also made by a British group, comprising Paul Belcher, Duncan Nicholson, Jon Scott, and Anthony Wheaton, in 1978. Unfortunately Nicholson and Scott perished on the descent.

Anthony Wheaton returned to the sister mountain, Brammah's wife in 1979 and made the first British ascent with Richard Hester on September 16, 1979.

Gumbok Rangan

Gumbok Rangan is a stand alone lofty rocky precipice located in Kurgiakh Valley of Zanskar, India in Lakong region. It is considered to be holy by the local inhabitants who practice Tibetan buddhism. Gumbok Rangan lies along the Darcha-Padum Trek route. Gumbok Rangan can be seen from the village of Kurgiakh which is about 16 kilometres away. The foothills of the Gumbok Rangan precipice are at the altitude of 5,486 metres.

Harmukh

Harmukh is a mountain in Kashmir in the Himalayas. It has a height of more than 5300 m above sea level.

It is known as Harmukh meaning thereby that the peak appears same from all sides.

Location

Harmukh peak dominates the lower Kashmir Valley. It is situated between river Jhelum and Kishan Ganga Valley on the Ganderbal-Sonamarg

4.

THE KASHMIRI JEWS

The Kashmiris are historically linked with the Jews, since the occurrence of Mano's Great Flood, which is also named as the Noah's Deluge. In Hebrew, Mano is named as *Noah;* in English, *Noe, Noach* or *Noah,* in Arabic *Nuh,* in Sanskrit *Manu;* in Chinese, *Nuwa,* in Egyptian, *Nun,* and in Kashmiri and Tibetan as *Noh.* This catastrophic event utterly devastated the earth about 4000 BC. According to the Hebrew Scriptures, *Noah* was the son of Lemeach, the tenth generation after Adam. When he was 600 years old, God decided to send a great flood to destroy the wicked mankind. As Noah was a righteous man, God instructed him to build an Ark for himself, his family and every living things of all flesh, for keeping them alive. It rained heavily for 40 days and waters covered the earth for 150 days. This Ark of Noah moved towards the mountains for safety and came to rest there. Thus Noah's three sons, Japheth, Shem and Ham became the founders of the population in Europe, Asia and Africa. According to the *Holy Quran,* Noah built a huge ship as inspired by God and it sailed amidst waves towards a mountain. It appears that both the Jews and the Muslims carry similar stories of the Great Flood. The Hindus too have the same story of the Deluge, but in some what different form. According to the *Mahabharata Purana,* the three worlds were plunged into an ocean of death. But in the midst of the destroying waves a large vessel sent by God stood, in which had been stored all herbs, all seeds, the pairs of brute animals, and the seven saints. Vishnu then appeared in the form of a fish and looked the vessel to safety.

The most important *Purana,* connecting Kashmir with the Great Flood, is Kashmir's own sixty century Sanskrit work named the *Nilamata Purana.* It contains a legend about the birth of vast sea called *Satisara.*

This legend is basically based on the memory of the Noah's Deluge, when the country of Kashmir had submerged under water. According to the *Nilamata Purana, it was god Vishnu, who converted himself into a fish and guided the Ark containing seeds of all life towards the peaks of high mountain ranges.* After the drainage of water, some of the boats carrying the seeds of life settled down on *Karewas* of the Valley. The first perpendicular rock, which emerged out of the Deluge, was *Sharika,* now known as *Chakr-eshwari* on Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar. On this rock is engraved a mystical diagram known as *Sri-Chakra,* or the *Star of David,* the national symbol of Jews. Since then, Kashmiris- originally Pundits and later Muslims are ethnologically and historically linked with Jews. Their countenance, their grab, their caps and turbans, their behavior and manner, their physical beauty and beards, all point to the fact that they belong to that ancient nation. While the Kashmiri Pandits have preserved their genetic profile during the past 6000 years, the Kashmiri Muslims have failed to retain it due to their admixture with other tribes during this past about 1500 years. It is possible to identify the Kashmiri Pandits with the present day Jews by obtaining DNA samples. But the case of the Kashmiri Muslims is different, because their gene has been diluted through intermarriages. However, we are certain, that still their DNA markers on the Y-Chromosome, will show some pattern of genetic relationship with the Kashmiri Pandits and Jews of Israel.

Bernier *in his Travels in the Mughal Empire, Journey to Kashmir* has the following options about the Jewish roots of the Kashmiris:

> *"There are however many marks of Judaism to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the Peer Panchal Mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manners and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe, what I say, to mere fancy. The Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Father, the Jesuit and some other Europeans long before I visited Kashmir."*

Mohammad Abdullah Qureshi, in his book, *Hayat i- Iqbal-ki-Ghum*

shooda Kariyan, informs that Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal – the great po of the sub-continent, was of a firm opinion that the Kashmiri's wer descendents of the Jews:

> "Iqbal considered the Kashmiris as the Jews. He would say that their nature, character and appearance are similar to the Afghans, who in reality are the Bani–Israel or the Children of Israel. Dr. Iqbal was so convinced about it that once he thought of submitting a memorandum to Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, in which he would tell him: Since you are also from the Bani-Israel, so are the Kashmiris; redeem them from the double slavery (of the Maharaja and the British) so that you attain a position of righteous savior."

Pandit Hargopal Koul says in his famous works, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir* that the Muslims name *Kasheer* as the replica of Heaven on Earth and also call it as the Garden of Solomon. According to them Hazrat Sulaiman and Hazrat Moosa came to this country and later passed away in this land.

THE JEWS:

The term, Jew has been derived from Judah or the follower of Judaism. The word is pronounced in various languages, like this:

Judaeus	-	Latin
Loudaios	-	Greek
Yhudai	-	Aramaic
Yhudi	-	Hebrew
Yahud	-	Arabic
Yahoodi	-	Urdu
Yohod	-	Kashmiri

It may incidentally be remarked that *Joo* or *Juw* used to be suffixed to every name in Kashmir in the past, and this practice was common to both the Kashmiri Pandits as well as the Kashmiri Muslims. This *figo-fix* signifies respect and points to the origin of the ancient race.

THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL:

The Israelites or the Children of Israel are known as *Bani-Israel* in the East. Jacob had twelve sons from his legal wives and concubines and from them are derived the twelve tribes of Israel. Two divisions marked themselves off according to descent from Leah or Rachel. As such, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulum reckned themselves to the former and Joseph and Benjamin to the latter. The inferior lineage from the concubines consisted of children of two groups; Gad and Asher of one group and Dan and Naphtali of the other group. However they all knew themselves the children of the same father.

They fought themselves for the *Holy Land,* with the result that Joshua partitioned them into two groups, and got them settled in the divided Palestine. Saul united them and Solomon gave them sovereignty. But due to their internal strife, they got divided again, and the two tribes were lost to them. Subsequently, the remaining ten tribes became slaves of various kings, with the result that they got scattered in different lands. Some of them got mixed up with other nationalities and lost their identity. It was only some remnants that remained in Palestine. The fate of the ten tribes has become a mystery.

In the 6th century B.C., the Israelites suffered persecutions and had to run away towards Syria and Babylon. In subsequent years, most of them were arrested and made prisoners. The persecution of the Jews continued for centuries. They were either killed, made prisoners or had to run away. During the period of the Indo-Greek kings, most of the Jews, who were skilled in many arts and crafts, migrated towards Afghanistan, Bactria and the hilly areas of Gilgit and Chitral. During the succeeding periods, they were lost in various lands; for they had traversed long distances. They also reached the outskirts of Kashmir and settled in Hazara. Definite information is available about the Jewish tribes of Hazara who mostly occupied themselves in trade and commerce. Hazara is situated the south-west of Kashmir. The existence of the Israelites in Central Asian countries has been testified by various authors. They wandered along the Silk Road into the countries of the East, Persia, Afghanistan and Kashgaria, until they reached the valley of Kashmir and settled there. They kept the traditions of Judaism intact for some period; they were forced by circumstance to adopt Buddhism, then Shaivism and then Islam, as their religion.

THE JEWS IN PERSIA:

In about 539 BC the Babylonians were defeated by Cyrus the Great. The Jews hailed this defeat, for they had suffered at the hands of the Babylonians, who had burnt the Temple at Jerusalem. At that time, most of them had been carried away as slaves to Babylon, and employed as agricultural labour. Cyrus the Great, not only liberated them from slavery but allowed them to re-settle in Palestine They were allowed to establish their State and rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. Having attained freedom and status, most of them settled in Persia and established themselves as rich traders. Now, they started to move towards the east and went as far as Central Asia. However, they looked to Jerusalem as their spiritual centre, where Menahem had established a subject State of Judea. Sensing that he had become too powerful, the Persians overthrew him in about 485 BC. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Jews thought of Cyrus the Great as their savior and made him a god in their writings. However, the Jews not only influenced by the Zoroastrians of Persia, but also were influenced by the foreign doctrines, thus resulting in a mixed ethical and religious code. It was happy blending of Judaic and Zoroastrian thought. It was during this period that the Persian art and architecture entered Palestine and the Jews and the priestly class under the guidance of Ezra succeeded in establishing orthodoxy among them. He forbade modernism and foreign ideas and even forced to abandon their Persian wives. This resulted in completely isolating the Jews of Palestine from the Jews of other lands.

THE JEWS IN AFGHANISTAN:

The Bactrian and the Scythian are early tribes that settled in the region, now known as Afghanistan. The people of this country are known as Pathans, Pashtoons, or Pakhtoons and their origin is shrouded in mystery and myth. It is historical fact that Afghanistan was an important country, through which the Silk Road, the great tans-Asian highway linking China with Rome passed, connecting Persia, Asia Minor, Kashmir and Central Asia, since ancient times. In fact, the word, Afghan comes from the Armenian word, *Aghvan,* meaning the mountaineers. This establishes a historical connection between the Afghans, and the Syrian captives of *Armenia.*

Among the tribes of Afghanistan, we find names, which indicate their connection with the Greeks from pre-historic times. But it was

during the invasion of Alexander that the Greeks, not only settled in various parts of Afghanistan, but also established their kingdoms in the region. During this period about seventy Israeli priests did settle in the Heart in Afghanistan. Some of the Hebrew Prophets are buried at Balk and Ibn-i-Batuta, the famous world traveler, makes special mention about the Tomb of Ezekiel there. Another Prophet of the Jews, Samuel is buried on the side of the road leading to Khurasan from Hamadan. Another Hebrew Prophet is buried at Rang-Barang near Bajoor in Afghanistan.

It is interesting to note that the Afghans carry their tribal names even at present and use them as cognomen. Prominent among these tribes are the clans of *Ammon-Zye, Amma-Zye, Davood-Zye, Abrahim-Zye, Shemoon-Zye, Yusuf-Zye, Ayub-khel, Yayah-kel, Yaqoob-khel, Yunus-khel and Zakaria-khel.* The term *Zye* in Pashto means the son or the lineage that would show that they connect their lineage with the Hebrew Prophets. All these clans do posses their ancestral pedigrees, which carry their ancestral line right up to Jacob, the Prophet of Israel.

The Afghans call themselves *Bani-Israel* or the Children of Israel. They say that they migrated to Ghore and Bamian during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and got converted to Islam due to the efforts of Khalid-ibn-al-Walid in about 633 AD. Some Afghans claim their descent from Cush, the grand-son of Noah and have mixed the Mosaic Law with their social code.

THE JEWS IN INDIA:

There is a theory that like the Aryans, the Hebrew have also originated from India, and migrated towards the west. It is further observed that the extraordinary persistence of the Jewish community has its basis in the caste system of the Hindus, where the Brahmanas would never mix with the other people, nor allow any one to join their caste. However, it cannot be denied that there had been much traffic between the North-West India and the Middle East during ancient times. Even at present, there are several Jewish settlements on the western coast of India, at Bombay, Coachin, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Mizoram, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. In Kerala, the Jews are divided into the *White Jews* and the *Black Jews.* Both the groups do not mix; rather look down upon each, claiming to belong to the original followers of Judaism. They came to Kerala 2000 years ago and the king granted lands

in their favor. One of their chiefs, Joseph Rabban was granted the title of *Srinadan Moplah.*

Recent researches have revealed the existence of the remnants of *Bani Israel* in Burma, Nagaland and Kashmir. In 1982, Hazrat Mir Alam Badshah, the Head of the Pashtoon community living in Gulti Bagh, Ganderbal in Kashmir explained that they are from the Children of Israel. He said that they have migrated from Afghanistan, where live the other tribes of the *Bani-Israel.* They were once followers of Moses and later converted to Islam. In an earlier interview, he had stated as under:

> *"Most of us are from Sawat and are descendants of Jacob. As such we are called Bani Israel. We are the descendants of Jacob, whose father was Isaac and whose father was Abraham. We are thus Bani Israel and we are not of Firab origin. Jacob had twelve sons and the twelve tribes are scattered all over among many races. We were Buddhists and before that we were Bani Israel. We are those Jews, rather that group of Jews who disobeyed Moses by refusing to take the heavenly food 'Mannan-Salva'. Thereafter we left Moses, and like nomads proceeded towards the east. It is true that the Jews will have to suffer run away from place to place and even if they touch the rocks, these stones will flee. Even the Turks are our brothers for they are also Israelites who disobeyed Moses like us. I explained earlier that many centuries ago, we came to Kashmir via Gilgit and Chitral."*

We know that a Muslim tribe called *Yudu*, in Yusmarg in Kashmir, also identifies itself with the *Bani-Israel.* It has also come to our knowledge that after years of effort, "A Kashmiri village of self professed Israelites was successful in migrating to Israel under the law of Return. However, soon after their arrival in Israel, they have been kept unknown to the general public."

We are informed that the first two tribes which were deported to Afghanistan were that of Gad and Reuben. This happened when Ashurnazirpal (883 B.C.) ruled over Assyria. May be this migration took place during the last decade of the 8th century BC. Out of the two tribes mentioned above, the Rabbinates proceeded further towards Hazara

and Kashmir, while the Gaddites permanently settled in Afghanistan. The descendants of the Gaddites are known as *Gaddi-rani* during present times. According to another source, this deportation of Jews to Afghanistan continued in an organized manner up to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (539 BC). It will be of interest to know that Nebuchadnezzar is known in Kashmir as *Bokhanassur* and there are many stories woven around his name. Among the Kashmiris, a person who is a dandy and a rogue is nick named as *Bokhanassur.*

The Israeli tribes who had suffered persecutions got themselves settled in the hilly areas and the valleys of Kashmir, Hazara, Gilgit, and Chitral. Majority among them changed their religion from time to time and became Buddhists, Shaivites and Muslims. It has been observed by many writers that their faces, conduct and behavior show that they are the decedents of the ancient race of Israel. It has been testified by the Christian missionaries that the Kashmiris are the decedents of the Hebrews. Evidence regarding existence of the Jewish literature has also been found. Another writer, who conducted the land settlement of the Kashmir valley during the 19th century states that the majority of the Kashmiri people belong to the Semitic race. Their women with facial features are generally like their Jewish counterparts. It appears that the Kashmiris are the Lost Tribe of Israel.

THE JEWS IN KASHMIR:

From earliest times, Kashmir is known as the Paradise on Earth. It has been claimed that many patients who suffered from fever and stomach trouble got recovered by drinking water of its springs. God almighty has given many blessings to this land, and for this reason, Kashmir is called the Promised Land. The Holy scriptures of the East have acclaimed it as the land of bliss. It is also a historical fact that many a Prophets and saints of the world have visited Kashmir during their life-times. The Kashmiris call their country as *Kasheer.* The term, *Kasheer* means the abode of the *Kashur* people and *Kashur* means those who eat *Halal* meat. The Hindus believe that all their religious shrines are situated in the valley. Kashmir is also known as the *Garden of Solomon*, who got it populated in 100 BC. Sufi in his *Kashir* says that the appellation was given to Kashmir by Hazrat Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, "seemingly supporting the settlement of the Israelites in Kashmir."

In order to save themselves during the invasion of Alexander, an-

other group of the Jewish tribes spread into the mountain valleys of the Himalayas. They also reached Kashmir and Tibet via Afghanistan. These people brought their religious relics with them. Claudious found an ancient copy of the *Tora,* in Kashmir, which was written on leather and its length was of 48 feet. The priest Kitro in his the *General History of the Mughal Empire* says that the Kashmiris are the decedents of the Israelites.

George Moor who published *The Lost Tribes* in 1861 writes that Christian missionaries who conducted investigations about the origin of the Kashmiris were of the opinion that the Lost Tribes of Israel migrated to India, Tibet and Kashmir through Afghanistan. Dr. Keith is of the opinion that "The natives of Kashmir are of a tall, robust frame of body, with manly features, the women full formed and handsome with aquiline noses and features resembling the Jews." George Forester in his *Letters on a Journey from Bengal to England* writes as under.

> *"On first seeing the Kashmiris, in their own country, I imagined from their garb, the cast of their countenance which was long and of a grave aspect, and the form of their beards, that I had come among a nation of Jews."*

Late Abdul Ahad Azad, one of the most eminent poet scholars of the Kashmiri language writes in his *Kashmiri Zaban aur Shairi* that it is a historical fact that Jews came to Kashmir in about two thousand years ago from Syria and gave a name to this land as *Kasheer,* which means like Syria.

THE KUSH TRIBE:

Cush or Kash was the son of Ham and a grand-son of Noah. He was the founder of the Kash or Cush tribe, which settled in the east. This tribe found *Kash,* a village near Bagdad. This tribe named rivers, mountains, cities and countries after the name of their ancestor, Kash or Cush. In Mesopotamia, it founded a kingdom and the *Kashna* River n that country is a testimony of this fact. *Kash-mar* a village near Nishapur in Iran was also found by them. This tribe also proceeded towards Central Asia and found many settlements. *Kash-mohra,* a village in Merv; *Kash,* a village in Bokhara; *Kash-band* and *Kash- ania,* the villages in Samarkand, were their settlements in Central Asia. In Mesopotamia, the tribe founded the towns of *Kash-an, Kash-af, Kashsi.* They also moved

towards Afghanistan and found their settlements at *Kash-kar, Kash-hil, Kash-ek* and *Kash-u.* While the Hindu-Kush Mountains are named after them, they also found a settlement in the south of mountain range, known as *Kash-mor.*

It was Babar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, who pointed out in his memories, the *Tuzk-i-Babri* that the etymology of the word *Kasheer* is derived from the Kash or Cush tribes, which inhabit the Valley. This tribe settled in the region, now known as *Kash-tawar,* in the Doda District of Kashmir. Crossing the Pir-Panjal range, people spread in the Valley of Kashmir. *Kush-tawar,* in the Pulwama District, *Kash-nag,* a spring in the Anantnag District, and Isae-Kush village bear the name of this tribe. These tribes were led by their leader, Kash-yapa into the Valley and according to an old tradiation, the name *Kasheer* is derived from him. However, it can not be denied that the Kush or Cush tribe, established its sovereignty in the Valley and history records some kings of this tribe, namely, Utpala-Kusha, and Hirneya-Kusha. The latter has also been mentioned as the hero of a fairy tale in the *Katha-Sarit-Sagara,* an ancient Sanskrit work of Kashmir. It also records Kanaka-Kusha, his father, as one of the kings of Kashmir. It is not only that one of the Semite tribes, namely the Kash or Cush settled in the valley but there is historical evidence regarding dispersement of the other Israeli tribes also around the Valley of Kashmir. The tribes mentioned in the *Old Testament* and those who retained their names in Kashmir are mentioned in other works.

THE JEWISH TRAITS:

Many scholars have pointed out that the Kashmiris prepare their graves on the model of the Jewish tombs. Such a grave is called *Mosai Qabr* and it's directed from East to West. The Gujjars in Kashmir, who are Muslims, term themselves as *Bani-Israel.* Their dress, as well as fashion of their hair is peculiarity of Jewish style. The paddle used by the Kashmiri boatman is on the model of a heart and is in vogue even at present. Such paddles are never used in any country of the world except Palestine and Kashmir. The Kashmiri boatmen call themselves as the descendents of the Prophet Noah. Old architecture in Kashmir reveals that the stairs leading to it are always from the west. This is not the case with the ancient Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist architecture.

At Aish Muqam, in the shrine of Hazrat Zain-uddin Rishi we have

the Rod of Moses, which is called *Asai-Sharif* or the esteemed staff.

THE TOMB OF MOSES:

The circumstances under which Moses died are shrouded in mystery. Nothing is mentioned in the *Old Testament* about the tomb of Moses except that he was buried in the land of Moab near *Bethpeor,* situated in a far off land in the east. When Moses was one hundred and twenty, God spoke to him saying:

Go up the mountain Abarim,
To that mount Nebo,
Which is in the land of Moab?
And die on the mount, to which thou goest up,
And be gathered to thy people,
In the same manner,
As thy brother Aaron died on the mount.
Because ye trespassed against me,
Thou Shalt not enter the land of Israel.

From the above, we gather that God became angry with Moses because, he had disobeyed his word and had not hallowed him among the Israelites. As such, Moses was ordered not to enter Canaan but go to the mountain of Nebu and die, where his brother Aaron is buried.

And Moses went up from the plains of Moab
Unto the mountain of Nebo to the top of Pisgah
So Moses the servant of the Lord died there
In the land of Moab according to the word of the Lord
And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab,
Over against Beth-peor:

Mohammad Azami Deedamari writes in *Tarikh-i-Azami* that near the tomb of a renowned hermit, Sangh Bibi, there is the sacred site known as the sepulcher of Moses, the Prophet of God. Another historian, Abdul Qadir in his famous work, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir,* says that Moses came to Kashmir, from a far-off land and many became his followers. After his death he was buried here and the Kashmiris call his

tomb as the 'Tomb of the Prophet of the Book.'

Some historical material is available to show that Moses came to Kashmir in his last days, and was buried at Booth on the hill Nebu in Bandipur. His tomb is visited by many a Kashmiri devotees. According to some, Moses came to Kashmir to preach them the word of God. The Jews believe that Moses disappeared and went to the *Promised Land,* in a far off land in the East. It is surprising that the five places mentioned regarding the *Promised Land* are; Bethpeor, Hasbun, Pisgah, Mt. Nebu and the valley of Moab, do exist in Kashmir only even at present. The survey of India map reveals that all these places can be located in the Bandipur area. Bethpeor was known earlier as Behatpur in Kashmir and now is known as Bandipur. Hashbun is now known Hashbal, Pisgah is known as Pish, Moab is known as Mow and Nebu is known as Nuboal or Nil-toop. All the above mentioned places do exist in the area in which the tomb of Moses is situated.

Bernier in his travels in India, Ladakh Tartars and Kashmir, Hargopal Koul in his *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, Mohi-uddin Hajni, in his *Maqalaat,* Mulla Khaleel in his *Tarikh-i-Khaleel*, and Nazim in his *Nigaristan-i-Kashmir*, record that the grave of Moses exists in Kashmir.

GRAVE OF A HEBREW PROPHET:

In Rajouri Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir, we have the tomb of a saint, known as Sayyid Hussain Ballad-i-Roomi. He is said to have arrived in Kashmir in about 1470 and passed away in about 1482. In this tomb are preserved two sacred relics, namely a foot-print of a Prophet, preserved in a metal box measuring one feet by one and half feet. According to a research scholar, M.A.Pandit, this foot-print resembles the foot-print preserved at the tomb of Yuzu-Asaph at Rozabal, Khanayar, Srinagar, Kashmir. The other sacred relic is a cap, black in color, said to be of Hazrat Ali, the Son-in-Law of the Holy Prophet of Islam. The name of the saint, buried here, indicates that he has come from *Ballad-i-Room* or the country of Rome. Adjacent to this tomb, there is a cenotaph, said to be of a Hebrew Prophet. The inscription on the wall reads as under.

A clarion call was heard in the mosque of Hassan Basri
God sends his messengers to guide people.

This is the sancta sanctum of Hazrat Bu Paigambar.

Hazrat Sayyid Hassan Balaadoor selected

The site under the feet

Hakim Sameer Hamdani is of the view that *Hazrat Bu Paigambar* means Holy Bu Prophet. Further researches are needed to discover this Hebrew Prophet, who was sent by God for guidance of the people.

GRAVE OF AARON:

Near the capital city of Srinagar, there is a small village situated about 2 miles beyond the Shalimar garden. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* names this site as Shardarhadvana or the forest of six saints. Who were these six saints? Not much information is available about these saints. However, according to local tradition, one of these saints is no other person than Aaron, the brother of the Hebrew Prophet, Moses. It is for this reason that the village is called Harwan or Haroon. Incidentally, it is amazing that Aaron is named as Haroon by the Muslims.

The Mount Hor in Palestine has been identified as the mountain of Aaron, containing the grave of Aaron. It is intriguing that at Harwan in Kashmir, we have his grave. How it is possible to have the grave of same person at two places? The hoary history of the Jews tells us that they died in many lands far away from their loved ones and home. At the same time, we know that it was a custom with the Jews that they would gather the bones of the deceased and deposit them in ossuaries. These sealed ossuaries were carried by a Jewish tribe, along with during these travels. It is thus evident that the bones of Aaron were carried by his tribe to Kashmir, during their exile and buried at Harwan or Haroon in Kashmir.

At this historic site, we have several structures, with pebble walls and tile pavements. The walls are built entirely in mud, but the pebbles are so carefully fixed that after the lapse of two thousand years, the standing walls are neat and attractive in appearance. It's a unique technique called *diaper and pebble,* which s found only in Kashmir and Syria. This archaeological site has been declared a national historic site because of large number of the terra-cotta images of the Buddha and a few clay votive tablets bearing in relief miniature *Stupas.* It is necessary to point out that this ancient site is arranged in level terraces, from the foot of the hill unto the top. On the highest of these terraces, there

exists a wonderful pavement of a courtyard, decorated with brick tiles having different motifs, such as flowers, plants, birds, animals and people. It is strange that their facial expression, hair style and dress bear close resemblance to the people of Central Asia. Every tile is stamped with the *Kharoshti* numerical. None of the tiles depict any connection with Buddhism. It appears that R.C.KaK, who excavated this site, was wrong to believe this to be a Buddhist site, but all the motifs shown on the tiles have intimate connections with Persia and Syria. None of the tiles depicts any Hindu god or goddess or any *Bodhi-Sattava.* In fact, the site shows signs of a Hebrew temple and Jewish graves in the east-west direction. The main square appears to be the dilapidated site of the grave of Aaron. It is situated near the meditating cellar.

THE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS:

The Jews, after having settled in Kashmir found many villages and towns and some of these exist even at present. The Jewish immigration into Kashmir continued for many centuries and they went on adopting local religious traditions and customs. A stage came, when they stopped such infiltration and they would allow only one or two Jews, to enter the valley every year.

Thus, it is not strange that many tribe and place names which are given in the *Old Testament* do exist in Kashmir. The Jews uphold such things, as daily worship, regular prayers, intensive study and dietary laws, known as *Kashrut.* They insist on the separation on men and women in the synagogue. They also do not permit music during religious ceremonies. The same is the case with Kashmiris, who are very particular about intensive studies, regular prayers, dietary laws and separation of men and women during prayers. No instrumental music is played at the time of religious congregations.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE:

The aboriginal tribes, which settled in the valley of Kashmir after its emergence from water, evolved their own language, which may be termed as original Kashmiri. But with the advent of other tribes, such as the Kasites Aryans, their language underwent a change. However researches reveal that the original Kashmiri word, idioms and proverbs are a mixture of many languages, such as, Aramaic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Persian. We find traces of the *Brahmi* and *Kharosti* in Kashmir in

the shape of inscriptions, tiles and numerals. It is a fact that both th alphabets are derived from the Aramaic alphabet, which was preva in Mesopotamia in the 5th century BC. It is for this reason that the pre day Kashmiri language contains 30% Persian, 25% Arabic and 2 words from Sanskrit and other languages including Hebrew. Late P fessor Hajini in his *Maqalaat* has emphasized that in the Kashmiri l guage there are dozen of Hebrew words used in daily conversation e up to the present times. Late Abdul Ahad Azad was definite in declar that the Kashmiri language had sprouted from the Hebrew langua The same opinion is held by other scholars.

Similarly, many ceremonies, like that of birth, marriage, and de are same in Kashmir as prevalent in Palestine. The period of purifi tion for ladies is about one month among both the nations. Levir marriages are a common feature among the Jews as well as the Kashmi Mourning for the dead is fixed for forty days among both the peop Even the coffins to carry the dead are of the same design. The Je always have their graves from East to West and such Mosai graves ha been found in Kashmir with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Jews and the Kashmiris have some similar food habits such eating of the smoked fish, using of oil only for cooking purposes. Joh Noel has made the following interesting observations about the Kashmi Jews:

> *"Immensely strong are those picturesque, broad-shouldered Kashmiri peasants and yet docile and meek in temperament. One thing about them strikes you with enormous force. They seem more perfectly Jewish than the purest Jews you have ever seen, not because they wear a flowing cloak-like dress that conforms to your idea of Biblical garments, but because their faces have the Jewish cast of features. The curious coincidence or is it a coincidence? Is that there is a strong tradition in Kashmir of its connection with the Jews."*

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5.

SHAMBHALA AND KASHMIR:

For the last nearly 2000 years, the Shambhala legend has attracted a tention of the research scholars interested into the hidden mysteries o this globe. For some, Shambhala is a myth, while for some, it is a hidde reality. Besides the scholars, even the powerful States, like England Germany, Japan, Russia, and America have shown serious interest i finding this hidden land under the high mountain ranges spread ov Mongolia, Central Asia, Tibet, Ladakh, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Per sia. Hitler of Nazi Germany not only established a study centre in Munich but also patronised several expolorations by Sven Hedin and others t find Shambhala and contact the Aryan race in this secret kingdom.

During 1925-1926, Nicolas Roerich made extensive tours between Khotan and Kashmir, in search of the kingdom of Shambhala, at the behest of Russia and the United States of America. The British did not lag behind and they asked Lord Gorzon, the Viceroy of India to sponsor the travels of Aurel Stein into the Central Asia. From his base camp at Mohand Marg, Kangan, Kashmir he conducted the most daring and adventurous raids in 1900, 1906, 1913 and 1930 upon the ancient Silk Road.Outwardly, the purpose of this and further expeditions was to collect art treasures, manuscripts and curios for the British Museum, London but the hidden object was the search of the hidden land of Shambhala. Hearing about the treasure hunting activities of Aurel Stein, France and Japan also joined in such ventures and deputed Paul Pelliot and Count Otani into Central Asian region.

THE HIDDEN KINGDOM:

According to the *Kalachakra Tantra*; Shambhala is an underground kingdom, made up of eight regions, each surrounded by a ring of moun-

tains spread within the Great Himalayas. The study made by the Russian about the Kashmir Pyramid Mystery fixes Shambhala within the Kailash Triangle. This kingdom has the capital in the centre, with the king's palace made of gold and studded with diamonds, and precious gems. The people who live in the eight regions of the kingdom are highly advanced in science and technology. Besides using space crafts and fast vehicles, they possess powers to move at great speed in space and in heavens. These people, who are under evolution to become perfect beings are destined to guide mankind, when the world will be full of turmoil, killings and war.

Shambhala, according to the Buddhist legends is a kingdom of peace and tranquility. The people, who live in this snow–capped mountainous kingdom, are extremely beautiful, tall and robust endowed with supernatural powers. The land abounds in meadows, lakes, forests, fields and apple gardens. All the crops are nourished by a type of celestial water as well as by celestial rays. Shambhala is an important destination for pilgrims.

The *Kalachakra Tantra*, further states that it was Suchandra, the king of Kashmir, who introduced the practice of *Kalachakra,* for empowerment of the people to face the barbarians, who would attack the kingdom of Shambhala. In this battle, the barbarians will be destroyed and *Satya Yuga* or the Era of Truth shall prevail. The victory will be accomplished by the Awaited One – the Kalki in about A.D. 2424.

According to the Hindu legend, the *Kalkin* or the White Knight will emerge from Shambhala, lead his armies against the Sons of Darkness and attain final victory. We are told that this blissful land of sages is located in North of the Himalayas. Arjuna, the warrior Prince of the *Bhagvad Gita* travelled through this paradise of earth in search of enlightement. Is it a coincidence that Kashmir is called *Rishi –Veir* or Garden of the Rishis? It is described as the homeland of the *Siddhas* or enlightened sages.

KALACHAKRA TANTRA:

According to a Buddhist legend, it was Buddha, who taught the *Kalachakra Tantra* to Suchandra, the king of Kashmir, who is considered to be the first king of Shambhala. He then developed the practice of *Kalachakra,* which later became the highest esoteric branch of Ti-

betan mysticism. The *Kalachakra,* which reached Tibet from Kashmir in 1027, consists of meditation as well as prophesy. It reveals the way to wage a war against internal enemies as well as external enemies, which are none other than evil forces. The *Kalachakra Tantra* is in fact, a spiritual journey to Shambhala – an inner quest for purification. This is the *Yoga* of utilizing the high energies.

The *Kalachakra Tantra* consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with working of the four elements; earth, water and air and fire under influence of the solar system, according to a fixed time schedule .The second chapter deals with functions of the human body in the states of wakefulness, dreams and sex.The third chapter deals with contemplation, while the fourth chapter deals with meditation practices. The final chapter deals with the state of enlightenment.

THE KINGS OF SHAMBHALA:

The prophesy of *Kalachakra Tantra* relates that there will be 32 kings of Shambhala and each king will rule for about 100 years. The last king, Rudra Cakrin will lead a huge army against the evil king; defend the kingdom of Shambhala with great courage, destroying the invaders. This event will be a turning point in the history of world, because hence-forth, the truth will prevail and the Age of Peace will usher.

To a casual reader, the above prophesy may appear as a superstition. But a careful study of various cultures would reveal that every nation of this globe is waiting for some Ascended Master who will come as the world teacher to bring peace to the disturbed world. The Jews are expecting the advent of a *Messiah* while the Christians yearn for the Second Coming of Christ. The Muslims believe that a redeemer of Islam will come to this world and he will be Issa or Jesus. The Shia Muslims and the Sufis declare that Imam *Mehdi,* who was hidden by God at the age of five, will return to rid the world of injustice, tyranny and turmoil. He is also known by the name of *Muntazar,* who will lay foundation of the New Age.

The Hindus of India, taking their information from the *Vishnu Purana,* talk about the advent of the *Kalki Avatara* on a white horse. It is stated in the *Vishnu Purana* that Kalki Avatara will be born in the kingdom of Shambhala and will be endowed with the eight superhuman facalities. By his irresistible might, he will destroy the barbarians and re-establish righteousness upon earth.

The Buddhists speak about the *Buddha Maitreya,* who they believe as the Coming Savior and Ruler of Humanity who will fight against all evil forces. The idea about the underground world is very old. In Kashmir, they call it *Pataal.*

SHAMBHALA AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT:

In about 4 B.C. Apollonius of Greece went in search of this underground world and traveled through Iraq, Iran and India. His travel accounts show that he went deep into the Himalayas, met another explorer, Andrew Thomas and then both met the king of this heavenly kingdom. With a warm welcome, the kind king allowed them to accompany him on a tour of his marvelous kingdom. They saw pillars of light shooting sky wards. The inhabitants eat and drink through the help of robots. On his return to Greece, Apollonius declared that the mysterious way to this hidden kingdom in the Himalayas was shown to him by a boy, who could speak Greek. It is probable that Alexander the Great may have been attracted towards finding this kingdom of God. The Greek anthology speaks about the fierce sea of Oceanus, which was the dividing line between the known world and the unknown world.

Alexander was aware of the legend of Shambhala, for he knew that it was Apollonius of Tyana who in about 4 B.C. had declared that there existed a kingdom of gods in the East. Since then, many had searched this legendary kingdom. Alexander's wanderings in Persia, Parthia and then Bactria seem to hint that besides connecting the West with the East, he was in search of something and wished to solve this mystery. In this venture, he had the backing of all the Greek intellectuals.

The route of Alexander the Great, from Macedonia to the river Bidaspes (Jehlam) in Gujranwala, Pakistan covers about 20,000 miles. In his geography, the Greek philosopher Ptolemy has given the exact location of Kashmir, which he names as *Kaspeiria* as the region below the sources of Bidaspes (Jehlam) and of Sandabal (Chinab). Alexander proceeded from Taxila to Sialkot and then halted at a place called Jehlam on the banks of the river Bidaspes. He crossed at a place known as Kandar at present where the grave of his horse still exists on the banks of this river. Porus the king of Gujarat, who commanded about fifty thousand

soldiers, three thousand cavalry and one thousand elephants, decided to face the forces of Alexander the Great at a place around the fort of Mong. For this, he deputed a huge force under the command of his son, Hari to stop crossing of the river by the Greeks. However, Alexander the Great succeeded in crossing the river at a place called *Xander* near Jalalpur Sharif.The king of Gujarat, Raja Pours suffered a sever defeat but refused to surrender his person. Alexander the Great honored this brave king by reinstating him to his kingdom. At that time, Alexander suffered bereavement in the death of his consort, Helen. Beside the grave of the horse of Alexander the Great, we have the tomb Helen at Helen in Gujarat.

DIVERSION OF THE ROUTE:

Due to these ominous circumstances, Alexander the Great asked his forces to return. From Taxila, he took the Northern route towards Bactria. Proceeding further, he reached Karshi, then Marakanda, then Cyroplis. None was aware about his moves; rather, he was in search of solving some mystery. He moved towards Bokhara on the river *Oxus,* then again retarded his steps and reached Marakanda. From that place, he wandered around Tashkent and again turned his face towards the South. It appears that he had failed in his secret mission. However, as the King of Asia, he had succeeded in mixing or joining the East with the West. After taking the daughter of Darius as his wife, he had encouraged thousands of his Greek soldiers to marry women from the East. This implies that he popularized the Brotherhood of Man; In this regard he can be counted as the first to have preached oneness of mankind.

AAB-I-HAYAAT:

Alexander the Great is described in Islamic traditions as *Al-Sikandar Zul-Qarnain* or the Lord of two horns, due to the reason that he is depicted as ram-headed in Greek coins. Another tradition attached with his name is that he went in search of *Aab-i-Hayaat* together with Khwaja Khizr.

Aab-i-Hayaat is a Persian term meaning, the Water of Life. It is believed that anyone who drinks this water shall live for ever. According to a Persian legend, there exists a cellecial islands, wherein bubbles the *Aab-i-Hayaat* or the fountain of Life. This cellitial land is located

beyond the mountains of the Koh-i-Kaaf, which separates Persia from the Northern glacial regions. The Persian legend even tries to give the exact location of the hidden continent, containing the *Aab-i-Hayaat.*

> *Towards the North of Persia, there is a dry continent. Then along the 60 degree of longitude, one has to proceed towards the West into the cold continent. Then one has to proceed between 60 & 45 degrees of longitude to cross the icy and snow capped mountains. It will take about 7 months to reach land of the Aab-i-Hayaat.*

Khwaja Khizr occupies a special distintion in the Islamic tradition to have gained immortal life after drinking the water of life. It is said that both he and Alexander the Great set out to reach the End of the world in search of the *Aab-i-Hayaat* but, due to unforeseen circumstances, each followed a different path, and Khwaja Khizr alone succeed in his quest.

According to a Kashmiri legend, it is Khizr or the Lord of the Seas, who has drunk the *Aab-i-Hayaat* and is living. He comes to the bank of the Wolar Lake in Kashmir for sojourn. According to another legend, Alexander the Great who is called *Sikander-i-Azam* in Kashmir, crossed over the *Koh-i-Kaaf* Mountains and succeed in reaching spring of the *Aab-i-Hayaat.* There he witnessed many skeletons, which had drunk from the Fountain of Life but were unable to move, despite being still alive. Seeing these alive but immobile skeletons, *Sikandar-i-Azam* felt repelled and left the place, without drinking water from the Fountain of Life.

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6.

THE PEEPS AT KASHMIR:

Under the project Peeps at many lands, Mrs C.G Bruce has compiled a small book on Kashmir, out of a vast material prepared by her husband under the title of the *Himalayas,* published in London in 1910. The maiden name of this lady was FInetla Madelina, who gave full support to her husband during mountaineering expeditions in Chitral, Chilas, Gilgit, Naga Parbat and Suru. In her small travelogue which is decorated by paintings made by Malyneux, she has written about Kashmir and its people, rivers, forests, fruits and lakes.

Travelogues on Kashmir are a legend. Since the emergence of the valley from the deep waters, various people started visiting it. During the initial stages, people came to settle here, but later, when its life and culture had established on a finer foundation, visitors from many lands came to see Kashmir. Its fame spread to many lands and scholars of Greece, China and Arabia referred to Kashmir in their annals and writings. Among its early visitors mention may be made of Solomon and Ezekiel, who came to see Kashmir in their space crafts. At the holding of the 4th Buddhist Council in Kashmir in the first century, many Buddhist monks visited Kashmir and held their sessions for about two years. After the advent of the Mahayana Buddhism, not only many Kashmiri monks went to Central Asia, China, Korea and the Pacific Islands but other Buddhist monks like Che-yen, Che-mong, Fa-yong and Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmir. During the Hindu period which lasted up to about 1320, the valley was visited by several Hindu scholars, artists and master craftsmen. The greatest inflow of visitors to Kashmir, occurred during the glorious reign of Lalitaditya the Great (724- 747).

He was a great conqueror who brought Punjab, Kanauj, Dawaruka,

Gujrat, Kabul, Ladakh and Tibet under his sway and made his capital at Parishasapura in Kashmir. During the Muslim period, the valley became a *sine quo non* of Muslim traders, scholars and missionaries. One of the Muslim visitors who came to Kashmir in 1028 and stayed in the valley of Lolab for about 2 years was Al-Biruni (973-1048), who wrote his notable classic, *Kitab-al-Hind* in Arabic. Besides dealing with Hinduism he wrote about Kashmir, its rulers, its cities and its calendar.

During the Mughal period, the Emperors, converted Kashmir into a pleasure ground and they would visit it during summer months along with their court and paraphernalia. Some of the Emperors even wrote about the scenic beauty of Kashmir in their memoires. Emperor Jehangir is said to have expressed in verse these beauties of Kashmir saying:

Agar firdous bar royay zameen asat

Hamin asat-o- hamin asat-o-hamin asat

Father Jerome Xavier visited Kashmir with the royal cavalcade of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar in 1597. He gives a beautiful description of the lakes and rivers of the valley.

FRANCOIS BERNIER:

Francois Bernier, a French physician attached to the Mughal court, visited Kashmir in 1665, with the royal cavalcade. His monumental work entitled *Travels in India*, in two volumes describes his journey to Kashmir via the Pir Panchal Mountains. While confining the title of the *Paradise of the Indies* to Kashmir, he writes lyrically:

> *The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden.*
>
> *The whole district round the city, is not only beautiful, but extremely fertile producing abundant crops and a great variety of fruit such as grapes, pears, apples, walnuts, peaches and apricots, plums, cherries, almonds, pistachio nuts, quinces, and similar fruit. For these reasons Kashmir is called by everyone Behisht, which means terrestrial paradise.*

In 1783, Gorge Forster, an officer in the British army travelled

through the northern parts of India, on his way to Russia. In his *Journey from Bengal to England,* which was published in 1798 at London, he makes mention of the sufferings of the Kashmiris under the Afghan slavery. He says that the Afghans were both brutal and savage.

FREDRICK DREW:

A monumental work on the geography of Kashmir was published by Fredrick Drew in 1875, under the title, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories.* He had heard about the legends about Kashmir, contained in the *Nilamata-Purna* that the valley was a lake called *Satisar,* which was populated by the Nagas. As a geologist, he sought scientificclues to this legend and came to the conclusion that the legends had a scientific basis.

GODFREY THOMAS VIGNE:

Godfrey Thomas Vigne, visited Baltistan, Ladakh and Kashmir in 1844 and published his work under the title: *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo.* He writes:

> *"Kashmir will become the focus of Asiatic civilisation; a miniature England in the heart of Asiatic civilisation; a miniature England in the heart of Asia...and, presenting so many attractions, it will become the sine qua non of the oriental traveller, whether he be disposed to consider it as the Ultima Thule of his voyage, or a resting place whence he may start again for still more distant regions."*

FRANCIS EDWARD YOUNG HUSBAND:

In 1887, Francis Edward Younghusband arrived in Kashmir, and wrote a book which was published in London under the title of *Kashmir Described.* It contains about 70 illustrations painted by Molyneux. He writes about the local beauty of the valley in great detail. About Srinagar, he writes,

> *There is a large choice of expeditions from Srinagar to points of interests.... First in the immediate vicinity there are picnics to be made to the Dal Lake, to the two Mughal Gardens – the Nishat Bagh and the Shalimar Bagh – and to the beautiful camping ground of the Nasim Bagh.*

WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE:

Walter Roper Lawrence, who served as the Settlement Commissioner under the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir for about 6 years wrote a book, about Kashmir, entitled the *Valley of Kashmir*, which was published in London in 1895. As, he possessed intimate knowledge of the region he has described its history, land and people. During his stay in Kashmir, he made a very deep study of the people. He writes:

> *"The Kashmiri can turn his hand to anything. He is an excellent cultivator when he is working for himself. He is a good gardener, and has a considerable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth, and can make first-rate baskets. He can build himself a house, can make his own sandals, and make his own ropes."*

ASHLEY CARUS WILSON:

In 1900, Mrs Ashley Carus Wilson compiled the memoirs of a British missionary, Miss Irne Petri and got it published from London, under the title: *Petrie-Missionary to Kashmir*. After having arrived in Srinagar in the year 1894, Miss Irne Petri started her evangelic work in the Zenana Mission House. She observed several flaws in the character of the Kashmiris saying that they are cowards and get beaten even from comparatively weak persons. They have no sympathy with their countrymen and are not patriots.

THE PEEP AT KASHMIR:

The book, *Peep at Kashmir*, by Mrs C.G. Bruce has been compiled by the author for the foreigners and asks them to step into the magic carpet and fly with her to Kashmir. She says that one can imagine nothing more delightful than to travel through air and to swoop down upon Srinagar. But, as there was no air service possible in the year 1910, when she came to visit Kashmir, she prefers to travel on a *Tonga* from Rawalpindi to Murree, then to Domel then to Uri, until one reaches Baramulla. From Baramulla, the journey to Srinagar is to be performed through *Doongas*.

HISTORY:

According to the author, the only way to enjoy a new country – new to oneself that is to say – is to get a grasp of its ancient history. She

introduces her chapter on history with this prologue:

> *Kashmir is such a beautiful country, blest with such a good climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lakes, so rich for agricultural purposes, and garnished with such lovely wild flowers and fruits, that one exclaims, "Surely the tales of fair Kashmir can be only fairy tales of good kings and Happy, prosperous people!" But this, alas! Has not been the past history of the fair valley, through we trust it may be its future!*

According to her the first authentic history we can collect is long before the Romans came to Britain. The king Ashoka was a follower of Buddha visited Kashmir and erected temples to Buddha. Then the author mentions king Lalitaditya the Great, who was a contemporary of Charlemagne the Great, and under his rule, Kashmir was raised to its highest point of prosperity. She thus describes the army of Kashmir:

> *During the reign of Lalitaditya the army of Kashmir was kept in fighting trim, and consisted of about six thousands cavalry (though we should probably have called it mounted infantry, and mere ponies even at the best could have been their chargers) and fifty thousand infantry, and it would seem to be none too large for the foreign invasions he successfully carried through. But as time went on the soldiers, denied the excitement of real fighting, became a source of trouble to their country, and civil wars became a habit.*

The author makes mention of the good king, Avantivarmana, who did much to improve the lot of people. After that the author speaks about a new king who was called the Iconoclast, during his rule the Hindu subjects fled to India. After this, she writes about one good king who came to the throne in 1417, in these words:

> *One good King came to the throne in 1417. He is said to have built a palace twelve stories high with vast rooms. His chief virtue was religious tolerance, and many Brahmans returned to their country. He even tried to repair some of their temples, and helped the Hindus by lessening taxation and giving them land. He brought in the Per-*

sian language in place of the Sanskrit, and encouraged music and poetry also artistic manufactures from other countries. His long reign of fifty-two years was also crowned with foreign conquest, and again Tibet and part of the Punjab were included in the Kingdom of Kashmir.

This good king was no other than Sultan Zain-ul-abidin popularly known as *Budshah* or Great King, who ruled over the kingdom from 1420 to 1459. After this, she writes about the advent of the Mughal rule under Akbar, who is said to employed "thirty thousands porters or coolies." She says that the Mughals laid down seven hundred and seventy gardens. About the Pathans and the Sikh rulers, she says that they brought Kashmir into the state of misery. It is evident that her account of history is sketchy. It is only what she heard from the Pandits.

SRINAGAR:

Srinagar, the capital city of Kashmir is situated on the river Jehlum (Lat 34°.5' Long 74°.50') about midway from either end of the valley. Formerly, it was known as *Qasheer* and also as *Shahr-i-Khas*, but during the reign of the Dogra Maharajas, it was renamed as Srinagar. During the visit of Nicolas Notovitch, this capital city extended for about 3 miles along both sides of the Jehlum. However, the description of the city as given by the Mrs. C.G. Bruce is accurate and detailed. We would like to quote her as under:

Srinagar reminds one of a large Swiss village with its chalet-like houses and mountainous background. It also recalls parts of Venice and of the river Thames. A strange mixture and lacking, of course, in the civilization of all these places.

The view of Srinagar and the country all around, which we get from temple-crowned hill, Takht-i-Suleiman is unique. The city itself, with its brown wooden roofs, looks like a large ant-hill; the flat meadow-land and rice-fields, spread out like the squares of a chess-board, are intersected by streams and rivers winding about like silver ribbons, and the popular avenues stretch in long green lines. Farther off the lakes gleam bright, and reflect the mountains in sapphire and crystal.

The whole picture is fascinating and the frame is grand. There are seven wooden bridges spanning the river, which, like Venice, counts the water as its chief street. It is alive with various river craft, plying busily up and down, and even a steam-launch or two. The houses are built of wood and sun-dried bricks, and look very shaky, but seem to with stand the constant slight shocks of earthquake better than more solidly built ones.

There are Hindu temples, Muslims mosques, tall-storied, balconied houses and shops, with carved lattice windows and doors. Bright touches of colour in the spring are given by the vines and tulips, which grow everywhere, and also by the groups of women at their washing down by the river, for some of them wear lovely colors.

PEOPLE:

The author is of the opinion that the people of Kashmir are not all of the same stock. The Pandits, who are from the original stock, are very light in colour, with Aryan features. It is their women-folk, who wear the lovely purple, green and red garments. So we can always pick them out in a group of women for the Muslim wear a long loose brown woollen frock, cut like a long skirt, with wide sleeves rolled back. The peasants and farmers are all Muslims though some of them elect to be merchants. The people folowing two separate religions are very tolerant to all sects. The author writes in a beautiful way about the Kashmiris good and bad points. We would like to quote actual words from her:

And what of the people of this delightful country? I am afraid we have seen that the natural untrained Kashmiri was not a strong character. Endurance and patience- the chief virtues one might imagine all their hardships to have produced in them- are even lacking. Even when they bear pain or trouble it is not bravely borne. They are very lazy too and very dirty.

On the other hand, they are not aggressive, and are happy in their family life. They can hardly be called truthful, although they have fluent tongues, and can make the best of a bad case.

Kashmiris are great gossips, and love handing on tit-bits of news, which, of course, lose nothing in the telling. The wilder the rumour the more to their taste.

We know that charity begins at home, and here let us say a good word for the Kashmiri. He appears to best advantage in his home life. The women are great home keepers, and are devoted to their husbands and large families. The wife is by no means a drudge or chattel, but the equal of her husband. Indeed, he often stands in awe of her.

There are elaborate customs connected with the chief events of their lives-birth, marriage, and death-and very expensive their custom are.

FRUITS AND FLOWERS:

The author is all praise for the fruits and flowers of Kashmir. According to her the blossoms of the plum, the pear flowers, the delicate tints of the apricot and apple, the bright pink of almond and peach, defy any but fairy pen to describe. In the autumn, can be seen bullock carts moving towards the Punjab, laden with fragrant loads of apples. In Kashmir, mulberries are largely cultivated for food for man, but especially for seri-culture. Walnuts and water nuts are grown for food but the best kind of walnut called *Kagzi* is exported to Punjab.

The Kashmiris love flowers, because their various varieties have grown naturally in the meadows of Kashmir. In their native language, they have a particular name for each flower plant or herb. Some of these in Kashmiri language are known as *Ranga-wal, Muss-wal, Aara-wal, Kosum poosh, Sazza-poosh, Pam-poosh, Yemburzal, Maa-wal, Kanzal, Gul-cheen, Soosan, Sumbul, jafirr* and *Gulala.*

The author says that the Kashmiris not only grow lilies, tulips and poppy on the wooden roofs, plastered with mud, but plant irises and narcissus on the graveyards out of respect for the departed. She writes:

Kashmir possesses the wild flowers of our own fields, such as thyme, mint, rest-harrow, hawkit, bright-eye, speed-well, campions, buttercups, and daisies. In addition to the above, we find irises, wall-flowers, tulips, pinks, pansies, forget-me-nots, campanulas, monkshood, larkspur, sun-flowers, marigolds, columbines, Canterbury bells, thrift,

rock-rose, potentilla, daisies bugloss, ranunculus, saxfrage, poppies, balsams, orchis, wild rose, clematis, lords-and-ladies, mallows, marsh-marigolds, and anemones, as well as the alpline flowers in the meadows and vallies of Kashmir.

Imagine the delight of walking barefoot through a meadow of cool, thick grass with large edelweiss and blue gentians, and of counting as many as fifty different flowers in one day's walk!

FOOD HABBITS:

Writing about the food habits of the Kashmiris, the author writes that:

The staple food of the Kashmiri is rice; and the flat fields surrounding the lakes for miles are excellent for its cultivation, for rice has to be irrigated while it is growing, and the natives wade about in these little terraces of muddy water dibbling in the young rice plants from the seedling bed, where it stands in thick emerald green.

Other foodstuffs are barley, wheat walnuts and water-nuts ground into flour; milk, fruit, and eggs are also abundant, as well as vegetables, probably no better natural food stores exist than in Kashmir.

Besides this, the Kashmiris tend sheep, goat and cows. The cold climate makes them eat flesh and fish. For cooking of food they use wood which is available in abundance. The superstitions are common to all people. For instance, when the late Maharaja of Kashmir died, no one was allowed to fish, because it was declared by the Brahmanas that the soul of the Maharaja had gone into the fish. As such, the Kashmirs refrained from catching fish for about one year.

Severe winters make the life of the people very hard. In order to keep warm, every Kashmiri, man, woman and child, possess, however, a little wicker-covered earthenware pat, shaped like a round basket. Into this they put hot embers or charcoal, and then crouch over it. These earthenware heaters are known as the *Kangirs*, which are kept in their bosoms under the traditional thick woolen shirt called *Firan.* At night, they may even sleep with these *Kangirs* in their bosoms or crouch un-

der thyis; and severe burns and sores are constant results. Some time, afire is caused most likely by an overturned *Kangri.*

BEAUTIES OF KASHMIR:

Before concluding a review of this work by Mrs. C.G.Bruce, we feel delighted to read her poetic impressions about Kashmir in these beautiful words:

To breathe the air of Kashmir is to breathe poetry, and endless cantos could be sung by one capable of voicing her charm, her majesty in verse. In the description of the colours of her scenery and flowers even of her art, we must not forget the skies for are the part of the pictures which artists have striven to paint.

No more perfect country has been provided by Nature than this valley where larks poise high, trilling out their praise, where doves coo in sweet content and where great lammergeyer eagles sail in powerful majesty.

7.

THE TRAVELOGUE OF NICOLAS NOTOVITCH

Nicolas Notovitch, a Russain journalist reached Srinagar on October 19, 1887, on his onward journey to Leh, Ladakh. His travelogue has been recaste by me from his controversial book, *The Life of St. Issa* published in 1895 at Paris. I will first introduce the author by providing his Curriculum Vitae.

Nicolas Notovitch was born in the Crimean town of Kertch in 1858, the son of a rabbi. He appears to have enjoyed a good education and could clearly travel throughout Europe and much of the rest of the world without difficulty.

He studied in St. Petersburg, presumably majoring in history. His military service was to have a significant impact on his life for he commissioned with the Cossacks and there is also mention of military honours. As a result, probably, of pan-slavic ideas, he went as a volunteer to the Serbo-Turkish war of 1876 and he appears subsequently in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. at some point, perhaps even before this period, he converted to the Russian-Orthodox church.

After his military service and studies, Notovitch worked as journalist for *Novoje Wremja*, a newspaper in St. Petersburg. First of all however he undertook several visits to Russia's neighbours, from the Balkans to Asia, and we will presently learn something of his travels from his own writings. In 1887, in India, on the last of these journeys he heard the story Issa. On his return from India he travelled around in Europe until he settled in Paris and also adopted French citizenship. He wrote for various newspapers, even produced his own journal and in 1894 he published his book containing the story of Issa. One particularly mysterious event hit Notovitch hard. Whilst on a visit to St. Siberia

from where he did not return till 1897. he moved back to Paris and then in 1903 settled in London where he stayed until at least 1906, later we find him again in St. Petersburg, but after 1916 all trace of him disappears.

INDIA:

In his preface, Notovitch explains his purpose in visiting India in these words:

Since the Turkish War (1877-78) I have made a series of travels in the East. After having visited even the least remarkable localities in the peninsula of the Balkans, I started across the Caucasus in Central Asia and Persia and finally in 1887 left for India, This wonderful country had attracted me since my childhood. My object in this journey was to become acquainted with the peoples of India, to study their manners and customs, and at the same time to investigate the grand and mysterious archaeology and majestically colossal nature of this marvellous country.

Wandering without any fixed plan from one place to another, Notovitch reached as far as the mountainous Afghanistan, whence he regained India by the picturesque passes of Bolan and Guernai. He then reascended the Indus as far as Rawalpindi, travelled over the Punjab, the country of the five great streams, visited the Golden Temple of Amritsar, the tomb of the King of Punjab Ranjit Singh near Lahore. Then he directed his steps towards Kashmir, what he mentions as "the valley of eternal happiness."

JOURNEY TO KASHMIR:

During his sojourn in India he had frequent opportunitlies of conversing with the Buddhists and the accounts they gave him about Ladakh excited his curiosity to such an extent that he resolved to make a journey into that comparatively unknown country. With this object, he chose a route crossing the province of Kashmir, a place he had long intended to visit. He describes his journey in these words:

On October 14, 1887, I took my seat in a tram crowded with soldiers and started from Lahore for Rawalpindi, where I arrived next day towards noon. After resting a little and inspecting the town, which, from its permanent garrison, has the aspect of a war camp, I purchased such

things as seemed necessary for a campaign in districts not yet reached by the railway. Assisted by my servant Philippe, a Negro of Pondicherry whom I had taken into my service on the warm recommendation of the French consul at Bombay, I packed up my baggage, hired a tonga (a two-wheeled conveyance drawn by ponies), and having installed myself on the seat behind, set out along the picturesque road to Kashmir. Our Tonga made rapid progress over the ground, though at one time we had to steer with considerable dexterity through a large convoy of soldiers, who, with their baggage carried on the backs of camels, formed part of a detachment returning from encampment to the town. We soon guessed the valley of the Punjab and, climbing a path with endless windings, entered the zigzags of the Himalayas.

MURREE:

Murree is a tourist spot and a civil station, distant about 40 miles from Rawalpindi. Nicolas Notovitch reached this place, travelling on a Tonga, accompanied by his Negro servant. Describing his onward journey he says that here the steeps became more and more abrupt, the delightful panorama of the region we had just traversed rolling behind us and becoming engulfed at our feet. The sun had illumined the mountaintops with its last rays when our tonga gaily left the zigzags we had traced on the crest of the wooded height, at whose foot nestles Murree, a sanatorium always crowded in summer with the families of English functionaries, who go there to seek freshness and shade. Notovitch further writes that usually the Tonga is available from Murree to Srinagar, but at the approach of winter, when all Europeans desert Kashmir, the service is suspended. The roadway being at the time of his departure still in course of construction, he hired saddle horses- not without difficulty- Evening had set in by the time he began his descent from Murree, which stands at an altitude of 5,000 feet. He continues:

Our journey, along a dark road seamed with ruts by the recent rains, was not a particularly merry one, our horses having to feel rather than see their way. The icy rain had chilled us to the bone, and we had been tramping in the mud for nearly two hours when a faint light in the distance revived our energies.

Notovitch, further relatees that the lights in the mountains, however, are but treacherous beacons. They appear to be burning quite close, when in reality they are far away and disappear only to shine forth

anew as the road twists and turns – now to the right, now to the left, now above, now below- seeming to take pleasure in deluding the weary traveller, from whom the darkness hides the fact that his longed for goal is really motionless and its distance becoming lessened every second. I had given up all hope of ever reaching the light we had described when it suddenly reappeared, and this time so near to us that our horses stopped of their own accord

DAK BUNGALOWS:

The Jehlum valley cart road from Kohala Baramulla was thrown open in 1889. Since then it has given easier access to visitors and to trade. The civil stations from Kohala to Srinagar are Tinali, Ghari, Hatti, Chakoti, Uri, Naoshera, Baramulla, Patan, and Srinagar. All these stations, were provided with dak bangalows in those days for stay of the travellers. These stations also served the supplies as well as change of horses and ponies. Nicolas Notovitch, praises the British for providing those rest houses. He says:

Here I must sincerely thank the English for the forethought they have displayed in building on all the roads small bungalows-one storied inns destined to shelter travellers. It is true one must not expect much comfort in these semi-hotels, but that is matter of small importance to the weary traveller, who is more than grateful to find a dry, clean room at his disposal. Once inside, I flung myself on a bed hastily prepared by my Negro-boasting a pillow and a rug half saturated with water- and was almost instantaneously asleep.

At the break of day, after having taken tea and a small portion of our tinned meats, Nicolas Notovitch continued his journey, bathed by the burning rays of the sun. From time to time he passed villages, at first in a splendid defile and then along a road which winds through the very heart of the mountains. He descended at last as far as the river Jhelum, whose waters flow smoothly amid the rocks.

CABRIOLET:

In those days, traffic between Rawalpindi and Baramulla on the Jehlum cart road was conducted through the use of Tongas and Ekkas. A Tonga was a rough two wheeled cart, driven by the two ponies, which were changed every five miles. The Tongas were used by the elite, while the general public used an Ekka, which was also a two-wheeled cart,

for carriage of goods as well as passengers. While the Tonga had a curved roof. The Ekka had no such facility except a tattered red curtain, hanging over heads by rope-netting. A cabriolet Tonga was provided besides the roof with an additional hood. Continuing his journey, Notovitch, towards midday reached the hamlet of Hatti, situated on a bank of the river. It presented a unique row of cabins, having the appearance of cases open in front. Here eatables were sold and all kinds of goods. The place swarmed with Hindus, bearing on their foreheads the diversely colored insignia of their castes. Handsome Kashmirians were also to be seen, wearing long white shirts and spotless turbans. Here Notovitch hired, at a high price the cabriolet of a Kashmirian. This vehicle is constructed in such a fashion that to sit in it, one is obliged to cross one's legs *a la Turque*, the seat being so small that it is only just possible for two persons to squeeze into it. Although the absence of any kind of back renders locomotion somewhat dangerous, he nevertheless preferred this sort of circular table mounted on wheels to a horse, anxious as he was to reach his journey's end as quickly as possible. He had not driven more than half a kilometer when he began seriously to regret the animal he had abandoned, so tired did he feel from his constrained position and the difficulty he experienced in maintaining his equilibrium.

URI:

Uri is a considerable town, situated on the left bank of the Jhelum about 23 miles from Baramulla on the road towards Rawalpindi. Notovitch in his narrative describes his journey what he calls, on the cabriolet of a Kashmirian.

Unfortunately, it was already late evening when he reached the village of Uri, but his legs were horribly cramped. He was worn out with fatigue, bruised by the incessant jolting, and utterly incapable of enjoying the picturesque scenery stretching before his eyes along the Jhelum, from whose banks rise on one side steep rocks and on the other wooded hills. At Uri he met a caravan of pilgrims returning from Mecca. Believing him to be a doctor and hearing of his haste to reach Ladakh, they begged him to join their party, which he promised to do after reaching Srinagar, for which place he started on horse-back next day at drawn. He passed the night in a bungalow, seated on a bed with a light in his hand, not daring to close his eyes for fear of being attacked by a scorpion or centipede. The place simply swarmed with them. Notovitch nar-

rates his journey further and says:

At daybreak our horses were making their way at a gentle trot along a level valley enclosed by high hills and bathed as I was by the sun's hot rays, I very nearly fell asleep in my saddle. A sudden sense of freshness awakening me, I perceived we were beginning to ascend a mountain path through a vast forest which at times opened out, allowing us to admire at leisure the magnificent course of an impetuous torrent, and at others hid from our gaze the mountains, the sky, and the entire landscape.

UNTOUCHABILITY:

Here Notovitch describes his experience of untouchability, exercised by the hereditary group of Brahmans who considered themselves to be defiled if touched or contacted by any person of a lower caste. I would expect Notovitch to describe his experience in his own words:

We emerged from the forest towards midday, descending as far as a little hamlet by the riverside where we lunched before continuing our journey. Here I visited the bazaar and tried to buy a glass of warm milk from a Hindu, whom I found squatting before a large pail of the boiling beverage. My surprise may be imagined when this individual proposed I should carry off the pail with its contents, affirming that I had contaminated the same.

"I only want a glass of the milk, not the pail," I protested.
But the Hindu remained obdurate.

" According to our laws, "he insisted, "if anyone not belonging to our caste looks fixedly and for a length of time on any object or eatable belonging to us, it is our duty to wash the object and to throw the food into the street. Thou, O sahib! Hast polluted my milk. No one shall further drink of it; for not only hast thou fixed it with eyes, but thou hast pointed at it with thy finger."

This was quite accurate. In the first instance I had carefully examined the milk to find out if it were genuine, and I had, more over, pointed to the pail from which I wished the man to fill me a glass. Full of respect for foreign laws and customs, I paid without demur the rupee demanded- the price of all the milk the merchant had emptied into the gutter- though I had only benefited by one glass of it. From this incident I learned a lesson- never to fix eyes upon Hindu food again.

VALE OF KASHMIR:

Notovitch describes his entry into the Vale of Kashmir in these words:

Being anxious to reach Srinagar as soon as possible, he continued his journey through a picturesque region which, after having for considerable time followed the course of the river, spread out at the foot of the mountains. Before our eyes, wearied by the monotony of the preceding landscape, a well-populated valley now disclosed itself with two-storied houses surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields.

By the time he had reached the summit of the last elevation, separating the mountainous country he had just been traversing from the valley, a superb panorama met his gaze. The picture it formed was a truly enchanting one. The Kashmirian vale, whose limits are lost in the horizon and which throughout is thickly peopled, nestles amid the high mountains of the Himalayas. At sunrise and sunset the zone of the eternal snows appears like ring of silver, girding this rich and charming plateau, seamed in all directions by fine roadways and streams. Gardens, hills, a lake whose numerous islets are covered with bizarre constructions, all conspire to transport the traveller into another world. For him, the limits of enchantment seem to have reached and he believed himself at last, in the paradise of his childhood's dreams. Narrating his description of entry into the valley, he writes:

> The shades of night were slowly falling-merging mountains, gardens and lakes in one somber mass, pierced only by distant lights like stars. When I descended into the valley, directing my steps towards the Jhelum which has here traced for itself, to unite its waters with those of the Indus, a passage through a narrow defile in the midst of the mountains. According to a legend, the valley was once a kind of inland sea, which a passage opening between two rocks had dried up, leaving only in its place the lake, a few pools, and the Jhelum, whose banks are now lined with a number of long, narrow vessels inhabited all the year round by the families of their proprietors.

BOAT NAVIGATION:

According to Notovitch boats were used when the valley was a sea

and these continued to be used when, the valley emerged out of water. In Kashmir, there are many kinds of boats. Most of them are used for passenger traffic. The *Bahats* are used to carry cargo, while *Dunga* carry passengers. During the period when Nicolas, visited Kashmir, the Dungas were used to carry passengers from Baramulla to Srinagar. Hence Notovitch decided to use the boat navigation. He says:

From here Srinagar may be reached in one day's journey on horseback, while the journey by boat takes a day and a half. I decided upon the latter means of conveyance, and after having chosen a canoe and struck a bargain with its owner. I installed myself comfortably at the prow on a carpet, protected by a kind of awning. The boat left the shore at midnight, bearing them rapidly towards Srinagar. At the other end of the bark a Hindu prepared tea for him and before long he fell asleep, well satisfied at the thought that his journey was progressing the while.

He was awakened by the warm caress of the sun's rays creeping in through the tent, my first impression of the surrounding scene being an indescribably delightful one. The banks of the river were green, the distant outlines of the mountain summits snow-covered, the villages picturesque, and the surface of the water crystalline. He imbibed with the air, which was peculiarly rarefied and delicious, listening all the while to the warbling of a myriad of birds who were soaring above in the cloudless serenity of the sky. Behind him plashed the water, swished by a pole wielded with ease by a superb woman with marvellous eyes, skin browned by the sun and mien full of stately indifference.

The canoe glided rapidly, the landscape ever unfolding his eyes, losing itself behind the confines of the horizon, merging itself and becoming one with the mountains he had passed. Then a fresh panorama would spread out, seeming to roll from the sides of the mountains, which every moment appeared to increase in size. Twilight set in and he was not yet tired of contemplating this splendid nature, whose vision had awakened in him the happiest memories.

SRINAGAR:

According to Notovitch, as one nears Srinagar, villages embowered in verdure become more numerous. At the approach of his *Dunga* the scanty inhabitants hurried out to see him, men and women attired alike in long garments reaching to the ground- the former turbaned, the latter wearing caps, the children being in a state of nudity. He observes that at the entrance of the city one sees a line of barks and houseboats, in which whole families reside. The summits of the far-off snow capped mountains were caressed by the last rays of the setting sun when he glided between the two rows of wooden houses which border the banks of the river at Srinagar. He writes:

> Business life seems to cease here at sunset. Thousands of multicoloured boats *(Dunga)* and palanquined barks *(Bangla)* were moored along the shores, where natives of both sexes, in the primitive costumes of Adam and Eve, were engaged in the performance of evening ablutions, a sacred rite far exceeding in their eyes all human prejudices.

On October 20, 1887 which was his first day in Srinagar he awoke in a clean little room with a bright outlook on the river, then lay shimmering in the Kashmirian sunshine. He says that will not attempt to enumerate the wonders of this beautiful spot with all its lakes, enchanting isles, historic palaces, mysterious pagodas and coquettish villages: the latter lie half hidden in vast gardens, while on all sides rise the majestic summits of the gigantic Himalayas, covered as far as eye can see with their white shroud of the eternal snows. He will merely note the preparations he made in view of his further journeying towards Ladakh.

He remained in all for six days at Srinagar, making long excursions in its enchanting environs, examining the numerous ruins which testify to the ancient prosperity of the region, and the curious customs of the country. He writes that the capital of the country, Srinagar (the City of the Sun), or, to call it by the name it bears here after the country, Kashmir, is situated on the banks of the Jhelum, along which it extends southwards for a distance of five kilometres. Its two-storied houses, occupied by a population of 132,000 inhabitants, are built of wood and border both sides of the river. The town is not more than two kilometres wide and every one lives on the river, whose banks are united by ten bridges.

KASHMIRIS AND KASHMIR:

While describing Kashmir, Notovitch speaks about the sale of Kashmir by the British to Gulab Singh in these words:

Kashmir, as well as the other provinces attached to it, such as Balistan, Ladakh, etc is vassals of England. Formerly they formed part of the possessions of the "Lion of the Punjab Ranjit Singh. At his death the English troops occupied Lahore, the capital of the Punjab separated Kashmir from the rest of the empire, and ceded it, under the title of hereditary right and for the sum of 160,000,000 francs, to Gulab Singh, one of the intimates of the defunct sovereign- conferring on him, moreover, the title of Maharajah.

The celebrated Happy Valley of Kashmir-eighty five miles long and twenty five miles wide was at the height of its glory and prosperity under the Grand Mogul, whose court loved to taste here, in the pavilions on the islets of the lake, the pleasures of a rural life. Most of the Maharajahs of Hindustan came here to while away the summer months and at the same time to take part in the magnificent fetes given by the Grand Mogul. He further remarks that time has now changed the aspect of the "Happy Valley." It is happy valley no longer, weeds cover the limpid surface of the lake, the wild juniper runs riot over the isles, stifling all other vegetation, and the palaces and pavilions are but grass grown ruins, the ghost of their former grandeur.

After having observed the gloomy picture of the valley, Notovitch describes the miserable conditions under which, the Kashmiris suffered during the rule of Maharaja Pratap Singh. He say that the mountains around seem invaded by the universal gloom and yet to install a hope that better times may yet surround their immortal beauties. The inhabitants, once handsome intelligent and cleanly, have degenerated into a half-idiotic condition. They are both idle and dirty, and the whip governs them now and not the sword.

The Kashmirian women are melancholic, their features marked with ineffable sadness. Misery and filth reign everywhere, the fine men and superb women going about dirty and in rags. The costumes of both sexes consist, in winter as in summer, of a long, full-sleeved shirt made of thick material. This shirt is not discarded until it is completely worn out, and never by any change is it washed, so that the snowy turbans of the men look dazzlingly white in comparison with these dirty grease stained garments.

A great sadness fills the traveller at the contrast formed between the richness and opulence of the surrounding nature and the miserable

condition of the people, clad in rags.

TOWARDS LADAKH:

Notovitch, now decided to march towards his destination – Ladakh. He writes that the time soon drew near for me to make preparations for the next venture into the unknown. He laid in a store of tinned goods, some cases of wine, and other things indispensable for a journey across so unihabited a country. He had all these items packed up in boxes, hired ten carriers and a chicari, bought a horse for his own use, and fixed the day of his departure for October 27, 1887. He had left Srinagar at the head of eleven coolies, four of whom were with so many cases of wine and stores, four with his personal belongings, one with his fire-arms, another with various utensils, while the province of the last of all was to act as scout.

Having chosen a route which shorten his journey by two days, he sent on his coolies at dawn from the other side of the Wular lake, which he crossed in a boat, joining them later on at the foot of the chain of mountains separating the valley of Sringar from the gorge of Sind. He describes his tough journey never shall he forget the tortures we endured in climbing almost on all fours to a summit 3,000 feet high. The coolies were breathless, and every moment he feared lest he should see one of them rolls down the steep with his burden. His heart ached at the sad spectacle offered by his poor dog Pamir, who, with protruding tongue, at last gave a low moan. Haiena, straight to the north by Ganderbal, where after having skirted the Sind and traversed the superbly fertile country extending as far as Kangan, it turns abruptly to the east. Six miles further on it approaches the village of Haiena, whither he had directed his steps by a more direct route across the pass already mentioned, which considerably shortened for him both time and distance.

GUND:

Before reaching Gund, Notovitch, discharged his Shikari after their night halt in the defile because of his extreme cowardice and absolute ignorance of the country. At the same time he gave six of the coolies notice to quit, retaining only four with him and replacing the others on arrival at the village of Gund by horses. Having passed the river at Sumbal, he stopped near the village of Gund to procure horses. When-

ever it happened that these useful quadrupeds were refused to him, he always began playing about with his whip, which had the instantaneous result of inspiring obedience and respect, while for the rest a little money procured extreme servility and the immediate execution of his smallest orders.

Before long, night fell and he hastened to cross the defile which separates the villages of Gogangan and Sonamarg. The road is in a very bad condition and infested by wild beasts, who come out at night in search of prey, penetrating even into the villages.

ZOJJI-LA:

Zojji-la is a pass over the range of mountains bounding the eastern exterminity of the Sind valley, whih forms the water- shed between Kashmir and Baltistan. It is crossed by the Dras road, the highway between Srinagar and Leh. According to Notavitch, Zojji-la is at an altitude of 11,000 to 12,000 feet. The ascent of the pass from Baltal is very steep and abrupt. According to him the acclivity of Zojji-la is very rugged; one has to climb an almost perpendicular wall. In certain laces the path winds over projectures in the rock not more than a meter wide, the eye becoming dizzy at the sight of the unfathomable abyss below.

Notovitch continues his narration by writing that there is one spot where a bridge has been formed by inserting long beams into holes in the rock and covering the same with a layer of earth.

According to him beyond Baltal the distances are determined by means of daks – that is to say, post stations for the mail service. They are low huts, situated at seven kilometres distance one from another, a guard being left in permanent charge of each.

He says that the postal service between Kashmir and Ladakh is still worked on very primitive lines. Letters are enclosed in a leather bag and given to a carrier.This individual, who carries on his back a basket containing several similar bags, rapidly covers the seven kilometres assigned to him. At the end of his journey he makes over his burden to another carrier, who in his turn accomplishes his task in identical manner. Thus letters are carried once a week from Kashmir to Ladakh and vice versa, neither rains nor snows hindering their transmission.For each course a letter-carrier is paid six annas (ten pence), the sum usually given to carriers of merchandise.

KARGIL:

Notovitch and his retinue reached Dras in the same evening, which is situated at the bottom of a valley bearing the same name. Near Dras stands a little fort of very ancient construction-freshly whitewashed-under the guard of three Sikhs of the Maharajah's army.

Here his domicile was the post house, which is the only station of a single telegraphic line communicating between Srinagar and the interior of the Himalayas. From this time, he was no longer able to erect his tent of an evening but had to take shelter in the caravan saries, which, although horribly dirty, were yet well warmed within by enormous logs of lighted wood.

He describes that from Dras to Kargil the country is dull and monotonous, except the marvelous sunrises and sunsets and beautiful moonlight effects. Apart from these the road is flat, endless, and bristling with dangers. He writes that Kargil is the principal town of the district and the residence of the governor of the country. Its site is very picturesque. Two streams of water, the Suru and the Wakka, clatter noisily over the rocks and stones, issuing from their different defiles to unite in forming the river Suru, on whose banks rise the mud constructions of Kargil.

At the break of day, provided with fresh horses, he continued his route, entering Ladakh. There he crossed an oscillating bridge composed, as all those in Kashmir, of two long beams, the ends of which were supported upon the banks, the whole being covered with a layer of fagots and little sticks and giving the illusion of a suspension bridge.

MULBEKH

Next morning at sunrise, provided with fresh horses, Notovitch continued his journey, halting near the monastery of Mulbekh, which appears as if glued to the side of an isolated rock. Below it, is the hamlet of Wakka, not far off from which is to be seen another rock of most singular appearance which seems to have been placed in its present position by human hands. On its side has been carved a Buddha several meters long, while it is further ornamented with several prayer girouttes.

Notovitch left horses at the hamlet of Wakka and followed by his interpreter, walked towards the *Gonpa,* to which access is given by a narrow stair-way cut in the rock. At the top they were received by a

portly lama- with the characteristically scanty beard of the Tibetan people- whose plainness was only exceeded by his affability.

The costume he wore consisted of a yellow frock and a cap of the same colour with cloth ears. In his right hand, he held a copper prayer girouette, which from time to time, without in any way interrupting their conversation, he set in motion. There all sat down, being at once served with a beer made from hops, brewed in the monastery itself, and called *Chang*. This beverage rapidly imparts embonpoint to the monks, which is considered as a sign of particular favour from heaven.

LEH

Situated at an altitude of 11,500 ft. above the sea level, the capital city of the former kingdom of Ladakh is called Leh. The most conspicious building, built upto eight to ten storeys is the royal palace of the former kings. On entering from the direction of Kashmir, one passes along a big *stupa*.

The town itself, girdled by stunted aspen trees, rises in a succession of terraces dominated by an old fort and the palace of the ancient sovereigns of Ladakh. Towards evening Notovitch made his entrance into Leh, taking up his quarters in a bungalow especially constructed for the use of Europeans, who come from India during the hunting season.

Notovitch records that Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is a little town boasting not more than 5000 inhabitants and comprised in two or three streets of houses painted white. In the centre of it, stands the square "place" of the bazaar, where merchants from India, China, Turkistan, Kashmir, and various parts of Tibet come to exchange their goods for the Tibetan gold brought to them by the natives, seeking not only supplies of cloth gowns for their monks, but even the smallest objects of utility.

An old and uninhabited palace rises on a hill overlooking the town, in the middle of which is found the vast two – storied residence of my friend Wazir Surajbal, the Governor of Ladakh who has taken his degree of philosophy in London. To enliven my stay in Leh, he organized in the square of the bazaar a grand polo match, while in the evening, dances and games were given before the terrace of his house. The entertainment concluded with the graceful dances of Ladakhi women, who, pirouetting and awaying from side to side, made us, on reaching

their windows, a profound obeisance, saluting us in crossing their wrists by the jangling of their copper and ivory bangles.

HEMIS GONPA:

Ladakh's biggest and famous monastery, known as Hemis Gonpa is situated on the Leh Manali Road at a distance of 49 Km from Leh. Early next day he started for the great convent Himis which, in picturesque situation stands on the summit of a rock dominating the valley of the Indus. It is one of the chief monasteries of the country and is supported by the contributions of the inhabitants and subsidies sent from Lassa.

On the road which leads to it, after having crossed the Indus by a bridge near which nestle numerous villages, one finds endless jetties covered with engraved stones and thorthenes, which their guides took especial care to pass on the right –hand side. They continued their way towards the *Gonpa,* which is surmounted by a tower with indented parapets visible from afar, and found themselves before a large door painted in vivid colours, the entrance to a vast two-storied edifice which encloses a courtyard paved small stones.

MYSTERY PLAY DANCES:

In the Gonpa, Notvitch witnessed what are known as mystery play dances. He describes these dances in detail in these words:

At the first notes of the melancholy chant which followed upon this bizarre music, the doom of the convent opened wide, giving access to some twenty persons disguised as animals, birds, devils, and monsters of every kind. On their breasts they bore fantastic devices of demons and death's heads embroidered in Chinese silk of various colours, while from their headdresses, which took the form of conical hats, hung suspended long multicoloured ribbons covered with inscriptions. Over their faces they wore masks, on which death's heads worked in white silk.

Finally, having saluted the chief lama, they approached the entrance of the temple, whence proceeded at the same moment other masquerades, their heads covered with copper masks. The costumes they wore were composed of broidered materials of various colours. With one hand they held a tambourine, while with the other they tinkled little bells. From each tambourine hung a ball, which, at the least movement of the hand, rebounded against the sonorous skin of the instrument.

Here a general silence ensued, soon broken by the appearance of a third company of disguised men, their enormous masks representing different deities bearing each on the forehead a third eye. At their head marched literally "he who was born in the flower of a lotus," accompanied by another mask, richly dressed and holding a large yellow parasol covered with designs. A lama seated near us explained, represented the six classes of beings subject to metamorphosis – the gods, demigods, men, animals, spirits, and demons.

Two big fellows who accompanied them, dressed in tights, acted the part of buffoons, executing all sorts of grotesque movements and comical feats. This evoked the delight of the crowd, who rewarded his contortions with peals of laughter

ACCIDENT:

Shortly afterwards, Notovitch, suffered an accident. His horse stumbled and he was thrown to the ground with such violence that his right leg was fractured below the knee. His fractured limb was bound up in an extemporized splint and he was lifted into his saddle, one coolie supporting his leg while another led his horse by the bridle. They crossed the threshold of Himis at an advanced hour in the evening.

Hearing of my accident, he was carried with great care to the best of their chambers and placed on a bed of soft materials, near to which stood a prayer wheel. Next day he himself made a better kind of splint for his leg, by the aid of little oblong pieces of wood joined together with strings, and by remaining perfectly motionless the result was so favourable that soon he was in a fit state to leave the Gonpa and to start for India in search of surgical aid. It was during his illness, he says that the Tibetan biography of St. Issa was read to him and translated by his interpreter.

In a few days his condition had so much improved that he was able to continue his route. On 19th Nov 1887, after having taken proper precautions regarding his injured limb, retraced his steps, making for India by way of Kashmir. This journey, accomplished by slow stages, lasted twenty days and caused him very great suffering.

LADAKH AND LADAKHIS:

Notovitch writes profusely about Ladakh and its people. He says

that Ladakh originally formed part of Great Tibet. The frequent hordes of invades from the north who traversed this country to conquer Kshmir and the wars of which it was the theatre not only reduced it to misery, but had also the result of depriving it – passing as it did from the hands of one conqueror to another – of the political dominion of Lhasa.

In a religious sense, Ladakh is subservient to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet and residence of the Dalai Lama. It is at Lhasa that the principal khoutoukhtes, or supreme-lamas, are elected, as well as the chogzots, or administrators. Politically it is under the authority of the Maharajah of Kashmir, who is represented by a governor.

The severity of the climate percludes the Ladakhis from wearing rich or many-coloured garments. Their shirts are of simple grey linen and coarse cloth which they manufacture themselves. Their pantaloons, which descend as far as the knee, are made of the same material. Their shoes are made of felt covered with leather, and from their waistbands hang a whole arsenal of small objects-needle cases, knives, penholders, inkpots, tobacco pouches, pipes, and the inevitable prayer girouettes.

Notovitch, further says that the Ladakhis are, as a rule, of such an idle disposition that a plait of hair which has become loose is not replaited before at least three months, while a shirt is not discarded till it falls from the body in rags. The overcoat they wear is always dirty and generally marked on the back by a large oily stain left by their plait, which is carefully greased every day. They take a bath once a year, and then not from their own free will but because they are so compelled by the law.

About the Ladakhi women, Notovitch writes that the women on the contrary, are great lovers of cleanliness and order. They wash themselves daily and on the smallest pretext. Their costume consists of a short and spotless chemisette, which hides the dazzling whiteness of their skin, and a red jacket draped over their well-rounded shoulders-the hem of which is tucked inside of knickerbockers of red and green cloth. This latter original garment is worn puffed up as a protection against the cold. Red broidered half-boots are worn, lined with fur, and an indoor costume is completed by a wide, many pleated cloth skirt.

Elaborating his observations about the Ladakhi women, Notovitch say that the hair is worn tightly plaited, while to the head is attached

with pins large pieces of loose cloth, something after the fashion of the women of Italy. Beneath this headdress are suspended in bizarre fashion various brightly coloured pebbles as well as coins and fragments of carved metals. The ears are covered with flaps of cloth or fur, and sheepskins are worn, protecting the back alone. Poor women content themselves with ordinary skins of animals, while women of position don proper pelisses of red cloth, broidered with gold fringes.

Whether out walking in the streets or calling on friends, the women invariably carry on their backs conical-shaped baskets. Every woman possesses a certain amount of money which is hers by right and this she generally spends on jewellery, buying at small cost large pieces of turquoise which she adds to the various ornaments of her coiffure.

According to Notovitch the Ladakhi woman enjoys a social status envied by all the women of the East, for not only is she free but held in great respect. With the exception of a small amount of field labour, she passes the greater part of her time visiting. And here let it be remarked that idle gossip is to her a thing unknown.

Polyandry is a factor in keeping the population united. It creates large families who cultivate the land for the common good, aided by yaks, zos, and zomos (oxen and cows). A member of a family cannot severe himself from it, and if he dies his share reverts to the community.

Nicolas Notivitch is an enlightened author, who weilds full command over his pen. He is a keen observer of nature, environment and people. His travelogue is a faithful and accurate record of his observations during his journey from Rawalpindi to Srinagar and from Srinagar to Hemis monastery in Ladakh. His travelogue is an unusual work in that it is a faithful account of a Western Traveller into Kashmir and Ladakh. His observations of the land and people depict his personal thoughts and as such, the reader is free to accept or reject these. However, it is a fact, that the author has no axe to grind and he calls spade a spade. The learned author has recorded the living history of peole whom he saw or met during the course of his journey.

8.

ROZABAL:THE TOMB OF YUZU- ASAPH

"Sepulchre of the Prophet so illuminating."

Bagh-i-Sulaiman.

There are many marks of Judaism to be found in the Valley of Kashmir. On first seeing the Kashmiris, most of the travellers are struck with their Jewish appearance. However, there are scholars whose knowledge of the Kashmiris can hardly be questioned, one and all, are the opinion that most of them are from the Children of Israel. There is historical as well as archaeological evidence which points to their Semitic origin.

The first reference to the followers of Moses living in Kashmir, comes from the *Bhavishya-Maha-Purana*, which says that the entire land is full with the followers of Moses, except, the country, around the river *Sarasvati*. During ancient period of the Indian history the land between the river Indus and the river Ganges was considered to be sacred and the Valley of Kashmir was not part of the *Sarasvati* country. As such, traces of the religion propounded by Moses are recorded to be existing in Kashmir are very significant, more so, when it is found that Suta started compiling the *Bhavishya-Maha-Purana* in the year 116 AD.[1] The next historical reference about the Kashmiri Jews comes from the great historian, Al-Beruni (973-1048 AD.), who writes that the Kashmiris are very particular about the defence of their borders, and do not allow any foreigners to settle in their country except a few Jewish families. They do not even allow any Hindu to settle in the valley, whom they do not know personally.

Several Kashmiri historians have expressed the view that the valley of Kashmir was made a habitat of Israelites by Solomon and due to this reason they have entitled Kashmiri as the *Bagh-i-Sulaiman* or the Gar-

den of Solomon. Some have mentioned that after being turned out of Canaan, Moses did travel to mount Nebu in Vethpeor, Kashmir and died there, at Booth near Pisgah.

Moses is a very common name in Kashmir and some ancient monuments, especially, *Takhat-i-Sulaiman*, or the Throne of Solomon, on the Gopa hill point to the Kashmiris to have come from Israel. As regards the physical features of the Kashmiris, Keith Johnston had to declare that the natives of Kashmir are of a tall, robust frame of body, with many features, the women full formed and handsome with aquiline noses and features resembling the Jew.

Manouchi, a physician in the service of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb (1658-1707 AD.) writes in his *Memoirs,* "that there is an old tradition that those Jews, who were led captives by Shalemanesser, settled in Kashmir, and the Kashmiris are the descendants of those Jews. It is certain, though we find no remains of the Jewish religion in Kashmir, there are several race descendents from the Israelite. The air of the face and the looks of the present day Kashmiris have something of what is peculiar to the Jews, which distinguishes them from all other people."

Catrou wrote in 1708 AD., that the Kashmiris are the descendants of the Jews. During ancient times, the Kashmiri Jews had close connections with the black Jews of Malabar in the South India.

TAKHT-I-SULAIMAN:

Next we would mention another old tradition among the Kashmiris, which indicates that it was Solomon, who had visited the country during ancient times. It was he, who had opened a passage of the water by cutting the mountains of Baramulla. He had also got built a small temple on a hill in Srinagar, which is still called the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* or the Throne of Solomon.

This temple situated on the Takt-i-Sulaiman hill has been designated by the Hindus as the Temple of Jyesht-eshwara or Jyesht the God. It is surprising to note that Jyesht seems to be connected with Jesu or Yeshu. Presently the Hindus have again changed the name of the temple by designating it as the temple of Shankaracharya- a south Indian Hindu saint. Another unique feature of this temple is its uncanny layout resembling the *sacred geometry.* Nearby, towards the north is a simple, almost hidden stone room, 10' 8" square, entered through a plain, and

nearly circular-headed low doorway. There are remarkably long stone beams, by laying under one, and looking up with a flashlight, we found an ancient inscription, we guess to be of Armaic.

This site has been the cause of much disagreement among archaeologists but no scientific dating or exploration, and analysis of any kind has yet been done. *Shankaracharya* was the name of a Brahman *Guru of* Kerala (788-820) who built many *Maths,* or religious centres in India. The hill was only recently renamed after him in 1848 as the Shankaracharya hill, by the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir. In front of the temple are the ruins of two much later Muslim structures, probably built during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1657) which explains the Arabic and Persian inscriptions there.

According to the *Rajatarangini*, the ancient designation of this hill was Gopadri, or the Gopa hill. It is a clear indication that this hill may have obtained this name from Gopananda (49-109 AD.), who is said to have built a temple on the top of this hill. It seems that there are no longer any Hebrews or Christians of significance left in Kashmir to reclaim the temple, and restore it to its original faith and purpose. In a way, we must be grateful that at least it is still in use, and not totally destroyed. After a long, steep, winding drive up the hill, there are then 67 steps to climb to the top

It is interesting to note that this temple built on the top of the hill is mentioned in the *Akbar Nama* as a Zoroastrian Sun temple, which was visited directly by the gods. Another account says that Ashoka's son, Jaluka around built it on this site over the pre-existing temple in 220 BC. According to Cunningham it was called the temple of Jyesh-t-eswara or Jyesh-god or god Jesus. The *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana states that Gopananda also rebuilt a shrine thought to be on the top of this hill. However, the other nearby hill that now called the Hari Parbat may have been the actual location of some of these ancient temples. Then the present temple was again repaired during Jehangir's reign, and started its period being changed over to a Hindu temple.

Some historical references can be found when the temple was under the auspices of the Buddhists, who especially revered it, but their presence and relationship to the site was obliterated during the reign of anti-Buddhist Shankravarmana (883-902 AD.). Numerous Hindu idols were eventually lugged up the hill and began appearing within

the temple itself. These were duly noted by the Jesuit Catrou in the *History of the Mughal Empire in 1708 AD.* However, the earliest extant records indicate Solomon and his architects, Hiram Abiff, had first built the present temple about the same time as completing the Jerusalem Temple (and within the same period as the Martand Sun Temple nearby, also associated with them). It was built on a site of an even more ancient temple going back to King David, whose grandson is buried nearby. This we know because Solomon made mention of restoring temples for them, his ancestor's God and religion

RESTORATION:

The restoration of the ancient temple was done by Thomas and Jesus during the reign of Gopananda (49-109 AD). We have recorded earlier that Thomas had been sold by Jesus to Habban the merchant for twenty pieces of silver. Oddly, both Thomas and Jesus appear together at Gopananda's court in about 49 A.D., where Jesus vouches for Thomas as of noble character, and talent to do the temple repairs. Jesus and Thomas together repaired the temple, and then left four pillars and several stone steps inscribed with their names, and a record of their being there. Photos still exist of these, but the actual objects have now been mutilated and destroyed. There is obviously much more about this story that needs to be looked at, as it occurred when Meghavahana was supposed to have been the King of Kashmir just before Pravarasena, yet he is never mentioned in all this.

The simple and beautiful temple has lost all resemblance to being temple complete with cows, snakes, a tin pale at the altar for money donations, and flashing miniature lights. Nearly lost on its slopes are numerous graves, some with Kharoshti, Hebrew, Semitic, and Phoenician inscriptions. It is said that these are the graves of those masons, who were deputed by Queen Sheba's son for repairs of this temple. This sweet and simple little temple must have been very important to Jesus for he chose to be buried within the site of this temple of his ancestors.

Unlike, other Kashmiri historians, Mir Saad-ullah Shahabadi titled his history of Kashmir with specific appellation - *Bagh-i-Sulaiman* or the Garden of Solomon. He compiled this versified history of Kashmir in 1780 AD. Thus he has invited the attention of the scholars to an old tradition which says that it was Solomon, who got drained off the Himalayan lake of Kashmir by creating an outlet in the narrow rock gorge

at Baramulla. This work was accomplished by Kashapa, the head of Kash tribe. Solomon flew to Kashmir in his spacecraft, which rested at a spot on the Gopadri hill since then, it is known as *Takhat-i-Sulaiman* or the Throne of Solomon.

ROZABAL:

The tomb of Yuzu-Asaph, known as Rozabal is situated between Khanyar and Anzimar in Srinagar. This tomb is a subject of controversy and intellectual debate among scholars and researchers. The historians have expressed different opinions about this tomb. Some connect this tomb with that of Jesus, while some connects it with some other Nestorian saint. But one thing is certain that Yuzu-Asaph lies underground the sloping ridge at Khanyar, Srinagar, Kashmir.

The term *Roza* as applied to this tomb indicates that it is resting place of a prophet. The tombs of saints in Kashmir are called *Ziarats* or *Asthans.* It is the tomb of Jesus/Pravarasena in Kashmir. First documentation is about circa 112 AD., stating *"this is the tomb of Jesus, visited by kings and great people on pilgrimage here from all over the world".* Kalhana also describes this as the burial place of Pravarasena. So inside we have documentation of both a crucified prophet and a crucified king known alternately as Issa/Yuzu-Asaph, and Pravarasena. In one corner remains a rock carved with the wounds on the feet of the man within. Originally painted in the Hebrew colours, blue and white; this was recently changed to green and white. The man within lies in a crypt in a cellar below, laid east to west in traditional Hebrew custom. Even into very recent times, the many artefacts associated with the tomb and which helped to identify its history, remained in place, but now have been removed. Once under Buddhist directorship, there was a court case to allocate the vast amounts of donations that once came in for support of the tomb. Like the Church of the Nativity in Jerusalem, it is now within Muslim quarters and under directorship of Muslims, who are gradually converting the entire site to Islam. However it is and always clearly was a Hebrew tomb, a private family tomb never declared either an historical site or a shrine, but the *Roza.*

Mir Saad-ullah Shahabadi, in his *Bagh-i-Sulaiman,* compiled in 1780 AD., describes the Tomb of Yuzu-Asaph, called Rozabal in these verses:

The pious Sayed Naseeruddin, the spiritual guide of the virtuous; his tomb is in Khanyar, in the house at Anzimar. Within is the tomb, so famous! Sepulchre of the Prophet, so illuminating! Whosoever bows before it, receives inner light, solace and contentment. Legends say that there was a prince, most accomplished, pious and great, who received the Kingdom of God. He was so faithful to the Lord. That he was raised to the status of the Prophet. Through His grace he became the guide, to the people of the Valley (of Kashmir). Here lies the sepulchre of that Prophet, who is known as Yuzu-Asaph. [7]

Another famous historian of Kashmir, Khawaja Mohammad Azam Diddamari, compiled his *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* in 1744 AD. In it he gives the account of the tomb of Yuzu-Asaph in these words:

The grave next to that of Sayed Naseeruddin is generally known as that of a Prophet, who was sent by God to the people of Kashmir, and the place is known as the shrine of the Prophet. I have seen in the books on history that he was a prince who came to Kashmir from a distant land. He was perfect in piety, righteousness and devotion. Thus he was raised as a Prophet by God. He engaged himself in preaching to the people. After his death he was laid to rest in the Mohalla Anzimar and his name recorded in the above book was the prophet Yuzu Asaph.

Anzimar is adjacent to Khanyar. Many enlightened person, specially, my Master, Mulla Inayat Ullah Shawl used to say that at the time of pilgrimage, the blessings of prophethood are witnessed.

CONTROVERSY:

There is oral and written evidence of the people in Srinagar that the occupant of the tomb under discussion was Yuzu-Asaph, who came to Kashmir some 2000 years ago. The inhabitants used to call it as the tomb of *Nabi-Sahib*, because in Kashmir a prophet is known as *Nabi*. Sahibzada Basharat Saleem states that in his family records *'the name of this prophet is distinctly shown in unambigious terms as Shahzada Nabi Hazrat Yuza Asa*

However, it is historical fact that the first reference to the coming

over of Jesus is given in the Sanskrit work by Sutta, who compiled his *Bhavishya-Maha-Purana,* in about 116 AD. Secondly, the Legal Decree passed by the Court of Justice in about 1766 AD., clearly mentions that the prophet Yuzu Asaph, who was sent as a prophet to the people of Kashmir is buried at Rozabal. He was a prince by descent and came here during the reign of Raja Gopananda (49-109 AD).

We have found that this prophet preached in parables, and used many of the same parables as Jesus used, as for instance, the Parable of the Sower.

The *Khulasa-tuf-Tawarikh*, compiled by Mirza Saif-ud-din and his brother Mirza Mohi-ud-din covers the period from earlier times to 1861 AD. For the ancient period they have depended mainly on the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, Suka and Srivara. From the 11th century onwards, the authors have consulted all available sources in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and English. About the tomb of Yuzu-Asaph, the author's remark:

It is said that a prophet, Yuzu-Asaph by name, appeared for the guidance of the people of Kashmir. He is buried in Mohalla Khanyar. During his life time, he invited people to his religion. He lived near about the reign of Raja Gopadatta, who had built a temple on the Mount Solomon.

The learned authors have rightly pointed out that the tomb of Yuzu-Asaph is in Khanyar, Srinagar, but, unfortunately, have given no name to the religion, which was preached by the prophet

Another historian of Kashmir, Khawaja Amir-ud-din Pakhliwal in his *Tahqiqat-i-Amiri,* writes:

There is a tomb (in Khanyar) which is called the place of a prophet. They say that there lies a prophet who had come to Kashmir in ancient times. He had come after great tribulation from a great distance. It is said that a prince, after undergoing a good deal of penance devotion and prayers, had become the Messenger of God to the people of Kashmir. After death he was laid to rest in Anzmarah. The name of the prophet was Yuzu-Asaph.

JESUS IN KASHMIR:

In the previous chapters, we have discussed the life of
would show, that he came to Kashmir in search of the l
Israel. Not only is it believed that Jesus graced this valley
Jerusalem, but all over Central Asia, as well as in Ladak
there is a strong belief that Jesus travelled in these count
such, it is not strange coincidence that there exist dozen o
villages in these countries, associated with his name or
him. It may be pointed out that Jesus is known as Yuzu, Yusu
Kashmir. Some of the names associated with his name are
below:

	Place	Explanation	Reference Rajatarar
1.	EsaA	mythical planet	viii. 1567
2.	Isabar	A sacred site on the shores of the Dal Lake	
3.	Isavara	A shrine	vi. 134
4.	Ishavara	god	
5	Isana	A title of the Hindu god	i. 38
6.	Isana	Guru of Samdhimat	iii. 82
7.	Isana	Temple in honour of	ii. 134
8.	Isanadevi	Queen of Jalankai.	122
9.	Yasukara	Elected king	v. 473
10.	Yasaskara	Son of Raja Jayasimha	viii
11.	Yasaskara svamim	Temple of Yasa	vi. 140
12.	Yaso-raja	Soldier	vii. 1313
13.	Yaso-raja	Governor	viii. 534
14.	Yaso-raja	Son of Bhojaka	viii. 151
15.	Yaso-varmana	King of Kashmir	iv. 134
16.	Yaso-vati	Queen of Kashmiri.	70
17.	Yus-maiden	The ground of Yusu	
18.	Yus-marg	The garden of Yusu	
19.	Yus-nag	The spring of Yusu	

All the above sites are visited by the locals as well a
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used to live here, who would resurrect the dead to life.
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lying at Khanyar in Srinagar, Kashmir. His crucifixion is
in the *Rajatarangini*, the world famous history of Kash-
, compiled by Kalhana in 1148 AD.

IN KASHMIR:

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ng had an adviser called Samdhimati; the greatest
, who was distinguished by his wonderful life and
n to Shiva. The wicked raised the king's hatred
that trusted advisor, by telling him, Beware of this
of wonders. Full of wrath, the king banished him,
duced him, to life long poverty. There spread a mys-
report, from house to house, which declared, to
imati will belong the kingdom. Troubled by ap-
ions, the king threw Samdhimati in prison. There
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s, who was distinguished by his wonderful life and de-
The wicked raised the king's hatred against him. There
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dhimati will belong the kingdom.

JESUS IN KASHMIR:

In the previous chapters, we have discussed the life of Jesus, which would show, that he came to Kashmir in search of the lost tribes of Israel. Not only is it believed that Jesus graced this valley after he left Jerusalem, but all over Central Asia, as well as in Ladakh and Tibet, there is a strong belief that Jesus travelled in these countries also. As such, it is not strange coincidence that there exist dozen of towns and villages in these countries, associated with his name or named after him. It may be pointed out that Jesus is known as Yuzu, Yusu and Issa in Kashmir. Some of the names associated with his name are mentioned below:

	Place	Explanation	Reference from the Rajatarangini.
1.	EsaA	mythical planet	viii. 1567
2.	Isabar	A sacred site on the shores of the Dal Lake	
3.	Isavara	A shrine	vi. 134
4.	Ishavara	god	
5	Isana	A title of the Hindu god	i. 38
6.	Isana	Guru of Samdhimat	iii. 82
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11.	Yasaskara svamim	Temple of Yasa	vi. 140
12.	Yaso-raja	Soldier	vii. 1313
13.	Yaso-raja	Governor	viii. 534
14.	Yaso-raja	Son of Bhojaka	viii. 1512
15.	Yaso-varman	King of Kashmir	iv. 134
16.	Yaso-vati	Queen of Kashmiri.	70
17.	Yus-maiden	The ground of Yusu	
18.	Yus-marg	The garden of Yusu	
19.	Yus-nag	The spring of Yusu	

All the above sites are visited by the locals as well as tourists in Kashmir. It may be mentioned that Jesus is called Yusu in Hebrew. Ancient Chronicles of Kashmir tell us that nearly 2000 years ago, a famous saint Isana used to live here, who would resurrect the dead to life. Now, this saint Isana saved the prince of the Aryas from cross and gave him life. This is the same story of crucifixion of the Bible repeated in the ancient history of Kashmir.

It is a strange coincidence that Jesus met the Kashmiri raja some time before 78 AD. Their conversation has been reproduced in the *Bhavishya-Maha-Purana*, an ancient Sanskrit manuscript written in 115 AD.[11]

It may look strange that Jesus proclaimed his prophethood in Kashmir, and died here. His tomb with a stone engraved with his feet impression is also lying at Khanyar in Srinagar, Kashmir. His crucifixion is also recorded in the *Rajatarangini*, the world famous history of Kashmir in Sanskrit, compiled by Kalhana in 1148 AD.

CRUCIFIXION IN KASHMIR:

The *Rajatarangini* which is the oldest historical record of Kashmir, contains an extraordinary event of crucifixion and resurrection of Arya Raja, the White Prince, who is usually associated with Samdhimati, and sometimes with Pravarasena, the Raja of Kashmir. The title Samdhimati stands for a member of the council, which chose kings. After this explanation we will quote excerpts from the *Rajatarangini* of this extraordinary event.

> *This king had an adviser called Samdhimati; the greatest of sages, who was distinguished by his wonderful life and devotion to Shiva. The wicked raised the king's hatred against that trusted advisor, by telling him, Beware of this person of wonders. Full of wrath, the king banished him, and reduced him, to life long poverty. There spread a mysterious report, from house to house, which declared, to Samdhimati will belong the kingdom. Troubled by apprehensions, the king threw Samdhimati in prison. There he pined with his legs tormented by cruel fetters.*

The above quoted verses reveal that Samdhimati was one of the greatest of sages, who was distinguished by his wonderful life and devotion to God. The wicked raised the king's hatred against him. There spread a mysterious report among the people:

> *To Samdhimati will belong the kingdom.*

Accordingly, the king got troubled by apprehensions, and ordered chaining of the saint, whose legs tormented by cruel fetters.

> *Then the king ordered: Samdhimati be put on the stakes; at night, by savage executioners. When the news reached Isana, the heart of this self-controlled person, broke away from control. He proceeded to the place of execution to perform funeral rites for this suffering man. He found him, reduced to skeleton; at which the wolves tore away, his flesh; held fast by the bones, fixed under the foot, of the stake.*

In the above mentioned narration of events, the mention about the great self-controlled person Isana and his coming to the site of the execution to perform funeral rites is worth notice. It reminds us that Joseph of Arimathea had also reached the site of the crucifixion to arrange funeral rites of Jesus.

RESURRECTION:

The story of the resurrection of Samdhimati from death is connected with Isana, who lived at Ishbar situated on the north-east shore of the Dal Lake in Srinagar. Ishbar is a place of pilgrimage, on account of the sacred spring now named as *Guptaganga*. During ancient times, a Buddhist *Vihara* existed at the site, which was called *Isha-Vihara*.

When Isana learnt that the king had put his chief disciple, Samdhimati on the stake, his heart fell much grief. He hurried to the site, and found the body of Samdhimati reduced to a skeleton. Isana wept over the sad plight of his disciples, and carried away the skeleton for the funeral rites. During this act he read a verse inscribed on the forehead of Samdhimati to this effect:

> *Life of poverty, ten year's imprisonment, death on the stakes, and still thereafter a throne.*

Isana stayed at that very place to see the fulfilment of the prediction, and watched the skeleton. In the middle of the night, while he was awake, he smelt a heavenly perfume of incense.

> *He saw the Yoginis enveloped by a halo of light, the skeleton in the midst being fitted up with all its limbs. Resembling a person just risen from sleep, Samdhimati was covered by these Yoginis with heavenly ointments, and then caressed to their full enjoyment. Then Samdhimati, who wore a magnificent dress, and a wreath, and heavenly ornaments, recovered the memory of his past. He reverently greeted Isana and embraced him. The Yoginis fled from the site, assuring Samdhimati that he would be the new king under the name of Aryaraja.*

The citizens, having learnt about the resurrection of Samdhimati came to the spot. They at first doubted the identity of Samdhimati, but his speech dispelled their doubts. At the bidding of his Guru, Samdhimati agreed to rule the country. Himself scented with camphor and incense, he was delight, when touched by the arms of hermits which bore a holy fragrance from the touch of the forest flowers.

This extra-ordinary event of putting a person on the stake, and then his resurrection similar to that of Jesus, the only instance recorded in the ancient history of Kashmir merits serious consideration. When Jesus was put on the cross, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and the other women bring ointments and incense to the place of crucifixion. In case of Samdhimati, the *Yoginis* bring ointments and incense, and cover the body. Now, in case of Jesus, his body is carried for funeral to the sepulchre by Joseph of Arimathea. In case of Sandimati, his body is carried away by Isana for proper funeral. After resurrection, when Jesus appears to his disciples, they feel doubtful about his resurrection. He tells them to touch his hands and his body so as to dispel their doubts. The same doubt occurs in case of Sandimati, when people doubt his identity.

A COINCIDENCE:

It is also a strange coincidence that the period of Samdhimati and Jesus is also almost identical. Further, both the personalities have strong resemblances with the result that this event has become a mystery. It is also a strange coincidence that Jesus is called as Issa in the east. It is possible that Isana of Kashmir, who is spoken of as great saint may be no other personality than Jesus. It is also possible that his disciples may have been crucified in Kashmir and may have obtained resurrection at the hands of Yuzu-Asaph.

The other alternative would be to presume that Isana, Issa,

Samdhimati and Aryaraja may be the same person, and Kalhana, the historian may be confused, while recording the crucifixion of this historical personality. This saint lived at Ishbar, meaning the place of Isana, which is still held in reverence by a section of the people of Kashmir. This fact has been mentioned in various historical works of Kashmir.

Francis Younghusband, who was the British Political Agent in Kashmir in 1889, writes:

> *There resided in Kashmir some 1900 years ago a saint of the name of Yuzu-Asaph, who preached in parables and used many of the same parables as Christ uses, as, for instance, the parable of the sower. His tomb is in Srinagar, and the theory is that Yuzu-Asaph and Jesus is one and the same person. When the people are in appearance of such a decided Jewish cast, it is curious that such a theory should exist.*

It is reported in an Arabic history of Kashmir, that Jesus, who stayed in Kashmir for about 65 years, along with his ten disciples, had become aged and infirm. When he first reached the valley, he would remain somewhat sad. His hand and feet were swollen and he suffered much due to the pain in his wounds. As time passed, the swelling subsided and the wounds got healed. He would heal the sick and the afflicted. He also baptised his ten disciples.

DEMISE:

Like his advent in this world, the passing away of Jesus is also shrouded in mystery. While the Gospels make him leave this world, at the age of thirty, the oriental writers have assigned to him a long age extending from 115 years to 120 years.

Sheikh-us-Sadiq gives the following account about the demise of Yuzu-Asaph in Kashmir:

> At the approach of death, he sent for his disciples, Babad. He used to serve him and protect him during his old age. He was perfect in all matters. Yuzu-Asaph made a will, saying: As such, you should safeguard your duties and never deviate from the righteousness, and absorb yourself in prayers. He then gave directions about preparation of sepulchre for him, at the very place where he breathed his last. He then stretched his legs towards the west, and kept his head towards the east. He then turned his face towards the east, and breathed his last.

His burial ceremony was performed by Babad in the Jewish style. Who was this Babad, who was summoned by Yuzu-Asaph before his demise.

The *Qisa Shazada Yuzasaph wo Hakim Balauhur,* has provided the following information about the demise of Yuzu Asaph:

> *"Departing from that town, he visited several other towns preaching to the people. At last he reached the capital city of Kashmir. Having settled there, he called all people towards the Kingdom of God. He stayed there in kashmir till the last day of his life. At the moment of his death he called one of his disciples, who was known among the people by the name of Yabid. This disciple had served his master with much devotion and had obtained a high status in the spiritual succession.*
>
> *Now making his will, Yuzuasaph, 'Now at this last moment my spirit is ready to fly towards the Holy One. It is necessary for all of you to followthe commandments of God. None should go towards the untruth leaving the truth. All of you should adhere to the prayers and hold fast to the truth.'*
>
> *After saying this, he breathed his last.*

According to above source the name of the disciple who performed the burial rites of Yuzu-Asaph, was Yabid, who had served him for many years with much devotion

Yuzu-Asaph passed away in the year 91 AD. It was a great mourning day for the Kashmiris of that period. According to Jewish custom, the body of the dead had to remain on the shelf, and after de-composition, the bones would be stored in a wooden or stone chest. No information is available on the issue, except that the sacred body of Yuzu-Asaph was laid in the sepulchre, according to the Jewish style. In order to settle the controversy, once for all, it is necessary to open the ground floor of the present tomb and find out the sacred relic, which might be in wooden, stone or earthen casket. The site of the present tomb of

Yuzu-Asaph is at the base of a raised strip of land in a slopping position. May be the body of Yuzu-Asaph was laid in a sepulchre that was hewn in this rising ground. After this, square blocks of stones were brought to cover the three slopping sides, leaving the raised earth as it was. The entrance on the ground floor to the stone chamber was made of carved stones with a small nitche, for keeping of an oil lamp, for those who could go in. Then a huge boulder was placed at the starting step of the underground chamber.

This stone wall as well as the entrance to the sepulchre has now been covered with earth. However, its photograph taken in 1947 AD. is self explanatory. It shows that the sepulchre was constructed after the Jewish style and reminds one of the doors of the sepulchre mentioned in the *New Testament.*

It became a place of pilgrimage for all, whether rich or poor. People came with offerings at the tomb and led prayers there. Thomas, who had, always devoted his life to the services of the Lord, felt very much bereaved, and left for Malabar to preach among the lost tribes there. Thomas preached among the people of South India and established seven churches there. He suffered martyrdom at Mealapore in Madras and is buried there. His disciples call themselves the Christians of St. Thomas.

THE TOMB:

The tomb known as the Rozabal is a rectangular building made of bricks and mortar. This semi-modern structure can be entered on the first floor by a small portico, which has been added to it. One has to enter this portico from the south. The wooden door is profusely decorated with carved designs. On this entrance door, hangs the sacred metal disc attached with iron chains. Every pilgrim to the tomb touches these chains and the disc. The idea behind this hanging metallic disc attached with iron chains is to ward off evil spirits.

After entering the portico, one has to pass through another door leading to the main hall. Inside, one sees the outer wooden sarcophagus, done in typical Kashmiri lattice work. This rectangular sarcophagus is surrounded by a gallery around it, so that the devotees could make circumambulation of the *sacro sanctum*

On the floor in the north-east corner of this wooden sarcophagus, there is a small ventilator, wherefrom one can see a stone block used as

a base for candles. In fact, on this sacred stone are carved the foot prints of Jesus done by some unknown sculpture during ancient times. The feet bear crucifixion marks and swollen wounds of the person, whom the artist saw and observed.

On the floor in the south of this wooden sarcophagus, there is stone slab on which a wooden crucifix was kept. In the main hall of the tomb, one can observe the following artefacts and antiquities:

1.Outer wooden sarcophagus.

2.Inner wooden sepulchre.

3.Two artificial grave stones.

4.One stone slab with carved foot prints.

5.One rectangular stone slab or a grave stone.

6.One wooden cross.

7.One wooden incense stand.

The entrance to the Tomb is from the South and the wooden door is elaborately carved. Strongly enough it depicts crosses. The ceiling consists of thin pieces of wood worked into geometrical patterns known as *Khatumband* style of Kashmiri architecture. The above description pertains to the first floor because the ground floor, which consisted of solid stone walls, had submerged under earth. The surface is decorated with glazed tiles, in vogue before 1526 AD. The windows are filled with elaborate wooden tapestry work, formed by joining together little pieces of wood in a geometrical pattern. The walls are constructed of bricks and mortar on the decorated wooden pieces projecting externally. The present brick, mortar and wooden structure has been raised in about the 16th century. The tomb was built in a Jewish style of a sepulchre, with rooms underground, having a side door. The shrine is quite distinct from the Muslim shrines, which have the Buddhist style of conic domes. From the description, it is clear that the pilgrims can approach the artificial graves and sarcophagus existing on the first floor of the building. They are not aware of the fact that the real sepulchre is in the ground floor, which is now covered with earth. Only the upper portion of the stone walling, partly plastered with cement is visible. The cella which was an ancient structure made of stone blocks decorated externally, had an access door, which is blocked now, by the earth on which

a road has been laid. The original hollow sepulchre is at present under the ground.

We can visualise that there existed a huge earth mound or a plateau at the site. During ancient times, the people lived in caves dug out in these plateaus, which were called *Udars* .The saints and *Rishis* of Kashmir used to live in these caves, and engage themselves in meditation. Yuzu-Asaph, like the other saints of Kashmir might have stayed in this cave. It is reported that before his death, he had wished to be buried at that very place. After his demise the three sides were enclosed by stone walls with the entrance towards the west. This entrance is blocked with earth now.

FOOT PRINTS OF JESUS CHRIST:

In 1975 Professor Hassnain found a stone slab, in the north eastern corner of the inner sarcophagus, on which are carved foot prints, bearing crucifixion wound marks. These foot prints are unique, because the carver has illustrated the crucifixion wound in the relief. The positions of the wounds indicate that the left foot had been nailed over the right foot, a fact, which was confirmed with the analysis of the blood marks in the Turin Shroud.

The stone slab, with inscribed foot prints existing in the corner of the inner sarcophagus was examined by Kurt Berna and his report is given as under:

> *In this case, it is very interesting to find the nail-wound reproduction of the left foot near the toe. But the nail-wound reproduction of the right foot is full, at the place, where it should be according to the classical view. It could be explained in this way that the man, has been crucified with the left foot on the right foot and only one nail was struck through both the feet.*
>
> *Secondly, the examination of the foot-prints reveals that these are not the real foot-prints of the man, but the stone carver, knew the facts of crucifixion. As such, he wanted to give prominence to the fact of piercing of feet, through nail, by distinguished marks. He knew that the man had been put on the cross and his feet had been pierced, which bore nail marks. Accordingly, he carved the soles of the feet with these distinguishing signs.*
>
> *Thirdly, it is a fact that when these feet impressions are compared with the Holy Shroud of Jesus Christ at Turin, we find that there also the crucifixion was done with left foot over the right foot and then the nail was struck. After minute examinations of the Shroud, it transpires that the left knee was stiffer and bowed like the right leg.*
>
> *Finally, the indication is that the man in the Holy Shroud at Turin and the man buried in the Tomb at Srinagar are just the same.*

A German scholar, who had come to critically examine these foot impressions on the stone preserved in the Tomb of Yuzu Asaph, was of the opinion that the depression shown in the soles of the feet had a special significance. During his travels, Jesus would have put pads under his sole so as to avoid irritation to his swollen wounds. In the Arabic work, mentioned above, the author makes special mention of the swollen wounds on hands and feet, which got healed in Kashmir, after several years. However, due to bodily protuberance and weight on feet, he would use pads below the feet.

This is quite clearly noticed on the feet impressions, carved on the stone, kept in the sepulchre of Yuzu-Asaph at Rozabal. This extraordinary depiction of raised soles show that the carver of these feet impressions of Jesus was genius and his carving of the feet-wounds was real. He had seen the swollen wounds which had deformed feet, one foot a little different from the other. Secondly, in one foot there is a little cavity or hole which shows that only one nail was struck on both feet placed over one another.

DECREE 1194 AH:

The Decree granted to the keeper of the Tomb, dated 1194 AH. / 1766 AD. by the Grand Mufti of Kashmir declares that the tomb has two graves; one of Yuzu-Asaph sent as Prophet to the people of Kashmir during the reign of King Gopadatta and the other is of descendants from the family of the Prophet of Islam. This Decree was brought to the notice of Khawaja Nazir Ahmad in 1947 by Saifuddin Mir, a descendant of the original care-taker of the Tomb. The above scholar has given a photograph of the Decree in his work, *Jesus in Heaven on Earth,* pub-

lished in 1952.

The translation of the Decree is given below:

THE SEAL OF THE JUSTICE OF ISLAM

MULLA FAZIL

1194 AH.

In this High court of Justice, in the Department of Learning and Piety of the Kingdom.

Present:

Rehman Khan, son of Amir Khan, submits that: the kings, the nobles, the ministers and the multitude come from all directions of the kingdom to pay their homage and offerings in cash and kind at the lofty and the holy shrine of Yuzu-Asaph, the Prophet, may God bless him.

Claims That:

He is the only and absolute claimant, entitled to receive the offerings and utilize these, and none else has any right, whatsoever on these offerings.

Prays That:

A writ of injunction be granted to all those who interfere and others be restrained from interfering with his rights.

Verdict:

Now, this court after obtaining evidence concludes as under:

It has been established that during the reign of Raja Gopadatta, who got built many temples and got repaired, especially, the Throne of Solomon on the hill of Solomon, Yuzu-Asaph came to the Valley. Prince by descent, he was pious and saintly and had given up earthly pursuits. He spent all his time in prayers and meditations. The people of Kashmir, having become idolaters, after the great flood of Noah, the God Almighty, sent Yuzu-Asaph as a Prophet to the people of Kashmir. He proclaimed oneness of God till he passed away. Yuzu-Asaph was buried at Khanyar

on banks of the lake and shrine is known as Rozabal.

In the year 871 AH. Syed Nasir-ud-Din, a descendent of Imam Musa-Raza was also buried besides the grave of Yuzu-Asaph.

Orders:

Since the shrine is visited by the devotees, both high and common and since the applicant Rehman Khan is the hereditary custodian of the shrine, it is ordered that he be entitled to receive the offerings, made at the shrine as before and no one lese Shall have right to such offerings. Given under our hand, 11th Jamad-ud-Sani, 1184 AH.

Signed and Sealed:

Mulla Fazil.	*Mohammad Aza.*
Hafiz Ahsan Ullah.	*Khizar Mohammad.*
Faqir Baba.	*Abdul Shakoor.*
Mohammad Akbar.	*Raza Akbar.*
Atta.	

NOTES

1. Suta, *Bhavishya-Maha-Purana,* part-5, verse-30. See Aziz Kashmiri, *Christ in Kashmir,* Srinagar, 1998, p.37. Fida Hassnain, *A Search for the Historical Jesus,* Bath, UK, 1988, pp. 189-192.
2. Al-Beruni, *Kitab-ul-Hind,* trans. from Arabic Edward Sachau, 2 Volumes, London, 1888.
3. Keith Johnston, *Dictionary of Geography, Art,* Kashmir, London, 1867, p.250. Aziz Kashmiri, *Christ in Kashmir,* Srinagar, 1998, pp. 39-40.
4. James Hough, *The History of Christians in India,* London, 1882, Vol-II, pp. 287-288.
5. Catrou, *General History of the Moghul Empire,* London, 1836, p.195.
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9.

KASHMIR SHAIVISM

Shaivism in Kashmir has been under practice for over five thousand years. The same type of clay pots that were excavated at Harappa and Manhanjo Daro, are used by Kashmiri Pundits up to this day during *Shivratri* festival days which is the top most religious function of Kashmir. The *Nilmat Purana* a 6th century Sanskrit manuscript makes mention of the *Amareshvara Thirtha* on the snowy peaks of Amarnatha. Kalhana in his historical work, titled the *Rajatarangini,* makes mention of pilgrimage to the *Tirtha of Amaranth.* He mentions that the most sacred temple of Mammeshwara exists at Mamal in Pahalgam, Kashmir. King Jayasimha, who ruled Kaashmir from 1128 to 1149 A.D., is reported to have adorned the shrine of Shiva with a golden parasol. In Kashmir Shakti concedes an edge over Shiva. The goddess Parvati is considered to be the creator of the three worlds. She is addressed in the *Panchastav,* in these words:

O Mighty Goddess: thou are Shiva, thou are Shakti!
Tho are the soul; thou are the Siddis.
Thou are the Doctrine; Thou are the knowledge!
Thou are the Maya; Thou are the Kundalini

The Kashmiri Pandits have been worshipping the goddess Shakti, since thousand of years and Kashmir has been vibrating with Shaivistic monism through all these past centuries. It is said that Shankaracharys became a Shakti worshipper during his stay in Kashmir in about 800 A.D. Kashmir Shaivism is a unique treasure of Kashmir, the like of which does not exist anywhere. Since ancient times it has been kept well preserved by the Kashmir Pundits. It would reach only to some who are capable to receive it. Kashmir Shaivism is a highly developed *Shastra,*

both theoretically as well as also practically. It enables one to see the *Samsara* or the universe from the topmost level. Those who reach to lower levels see the *Samsara* from that lower level. One who reaches the *Brahma* vision; he shall see the universe form his lower level only. One who reaches the Rudra stage; he can see this universe from Rudra vision only. Then ascending high one reaches the *Ishara* stage and one can see *Samsara* from that higher stage. Ascending further higher,one may reach the *Sada Shiva* stage. Last come the Shiva and Shakti stage, The *Shastra* that is evolved the from Shiva and Shakti stage, is called Kashmir Shaivism.

ADVENT OF SHIVA-SUTRAS:

The authorship of the Shiva Sutras is attributed to Shiva and these therefore, form part of the *Agama Shastra.* According to one ancient tradition recorded by Kashmaraja, the *Sutras* were found in the early 9th century by Vesugupta, inscribed on a rock at the foot of the Mahadeva Mountain. According to the same tradition, Vasugupta had been told of the rock and the inscriptions thereon, by Shiva himself in a dream. There had been prevailing at the time, two mutually conflicting systems of thought. One of them was that of the Buddhist teacher, Naga-Bodhi and his followers, representing the school of philosophy, which was characterised as 'repellers of *Atman* and *Ishavara,* 'by the Brahmans. The other was the dualistic system, holding man and *Ishvara* as eternally different from each other. In these circumstances, there was the great risk of the monistic mysteries of Shiva, disappearing altogether from the world. This state of affairs distressed Vasgupta much but he was relieved of his distress when Shiva, revealed to him the whereabouts of the *Shiva-Sutras.* The *Shiva-Sutras* arose as a protest, first, against certain later schools of Buddhism, preaching the nihilistic doctrines; secondly, their protest was against the doctrine of dualism in any and every form. The very first *Sutra,* so emphatically declares that not only the *Atman* is self-luminous but also self-conscious and free.

THE TRIKA:

While the *Shiva-Sutra* thus began with a highly philosophical declaration, the work is not just a theoretical system of philosophy. On the contrary, it is a wonderful practical treatise, telling its serious students how to realise the positive experience. Of all the humanistic achieve-

ments of Kashmir, the *Trika* is unquestionably the greatest. It is of world-wide interest, for it is Kashmir's very own and in the words of a Kashmirian author, like saffron, which grows nowhere else except in Kashmir. The *Trika* is a wonderful synthesis of all the important systems of knowledge and thinking as well as moral and spiritual disciplines practised previously in India. It is the synthesis of all that is universal and enduring in the *Vedanta,* the *Sankhya,* the *Dharma* and the *Vinaya* as well as all that is highest and noblest in the *Vaishnava* and the *Shakta* schools of thought.

While synthesising all previous system of India's philosophic thinking and spiritual discipline, the *Trika* has been careful to avoid the many pitfalls, into which certain later representations of the earlier systems have been led. The *Trika* is completely free from all negativism. Then again, while absolutely monistic in its analysis of man and the universe, the *Tirka* is yet a most realistic and dynamic system. In it, the chief emphasis is laid on what is called *Svatantraya,* the most complete autonomy of thought and action as the goal of life. The *Trika* is an opportune revelation designed the meet and solves the many intricate problems, personal and social, which confront the man all over the world.

The Trika is the fundamental science of three most vital facts of universal experience, namely, (a) man, (b) universe and (c) adjustment. While all these three are dealt with in the *Trika,* it is the man who is its primal as well as final concern. The *Trika* does not just stop here, but investigates man's entire construction; physical, mental and spiritual. In addition, the *Trika* further tells us, with a wonderful wealth of detail, the exact method of knowing them in direct experience and realising them as positive facts. The *Trika* is meant for all human beings without any distinction of sex, creed, caste or colour.

THREE DIVISIONS:

The whole of Shaiva literature falls into three different divisions, namely (a) the *Agama Shastra,* (b) the *Spanda Shastra* and (c) the *Pratyabhijna Shastra.* The *Agama* literally means what has come down from remote antiquity! The *Spanda* literally means energy and it has reference to the fact that the whole universe in all its aspects, physical and spiritual, is nothing but a play of energy manifested by Shiva. The *Pratayabhijana,* primarily means recognition and in this context has reference to the fact that realising one's own self means the recognition

of Shiva. The term has been used in the sense of revealing the powers of God by direct experience. One can recognise the supreme powers of God and becomes aware of his own self and unite the both into one experience, by his knowledge and action saying certainly: *'I am that I am.'*

PARAMA SHIVA:

The Absolute can be conceived both as Universal Consciousness and Universal energy. However the Absolute can never be the object of perception, and none can enumerate its qualities. At the same time our thought and speech turn eagerly to search the Absolute which takes forms to favour the devotees. In order to understand the Ultimate Reality, his Absolute is divided for us into three bodies namely Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. There are different paths of realization but the Absolute reveals itself of its own accord. With *Sattva* in the form of Vishnu, he preserves and with *Tamas* in the form of Rudra, he destroys. He is Shiva the Three-eyed One, who drank poison as an act of favour to gods and demons, to save the world from destruction. He is Parama Shiva who is of the nature of Bliss itself and all complete in himself. He holds in himself the still unmanifested Universe as an idea, rather as an experience of his own which is also the root of all that afterwards becomes expressible in terms of discursive thought and speech. At the same time he transcends even this supremely ideal Universe or which is the same thing, as the Universal experience.

Parama Shiva is the transcending Reality, Bliss and Intelligence as well as the one all-including Supreme Experience. Parama Shiva being all completes in Himself, and exists in the form of phenomenal universe and its objective existence. Appearance of these two types of existence is the real god-hood of Parama Shiva.

Shiva is said to have a thousand names; in addition to those the following are most common:-

Maheswara, "The great god."

Ishwar, "The glorious."

Chandrashekara, "He who wears a half-moon on his forehead."

Bhuteswara, "Lord of Bhuts or goblins."

Mritunjaya, "He who conquers death."

Sri Kanta, "He whose neck is beautiful."

Smarahara, "The destroyer of Smara or Kamdeva"

Gangadhara, "He who holds the Ganges in his hair."

Sthanu, "The everlasting."

Girisha, "The lord of the hills."

Digambara, "He who is clothed with space (naked)."

Bhagavat, "The lord."

Isana, "The ruler."

Mahkala, "The great time."

Tryambaka, "The three-eyed."

THE SHIVA TATTVA:

This universe with all its infinite variety of objects is nothing but a manifestation is known as Shakti, who is the creative power behind him. She has a number of moods and it is all due to her that Shiva is able to manifest himself.

But in order that there may be a Universe, he brings into operation that aspect of his Shakti. In this state he is what he was as Parama Shiva in all essentials and in every respect. The experience of this state is called the Shiva Tattva which comes into manifestation without in any way whatsoever, affecting Parama Shiva. He remains the same as before-existing simultaneously with and including the Shiva Tattva. Thus, Shiva Tatta is the first stage in the process of the universal manifestation; and it is a state in which the *Chit* aspect of Shakti is most manifest.

PARAMA SHAKTI:

Originally, the term Shakti signifies the energy and power of a god. This energy or power dwells in the consorts of the Hindu gods. In case of Shiva, his Shakti is Paravati. This universe with all its infinite variety of objects is nothing but a manifestation of Shiva himself. This very aspect of his manifestation is known as Shakti, which is the creative power behind him. Parvati has a number of moods and it is all to her that Shiva is able to manifest himself. Shiva stands apart with no function of his own and the Shakti in combination with him is the prime

cause of the universe.

She is Shiva in the Shiva-kund,

She is Shakti in the Shakti-kund,

She is the embodiment of Sat, Chit and Anand,

We bow before thee,

We adore thee,

O Divine Mother!

The consort of Shiva,

Who reveals in the sport of protecting the universe;

For whose acts of creation and destruction:

The supreme Lord Shiva:

Is the witness.

There are many Hindus, who worship the energy of the gods, and are known as Shaktas. They are divided into two groups; the right handed Shaktas worship the Devi through *Japa* (recitation) of the Mantras, the left-handed adapt the Pancha-Mantras; such as *Madya* (liquor), *Mamsa* (meat), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudra* (perched grain) and *Maithuna* (copulation). The recitation of the *Mantras* is done,while sitting on a specially made *Mandala*, a mystical diagram which is a six pointed star, called as the *Sri-Chakra.*

THE SHAKTI TATTVA:

The three aspects of the divine Shakti are *Sat, Chit* and *Ananda.* The Universe-negativing aspect of the Divine Shakti is called the *Shakti Tattva*, and is thus, the second element or factor which enters into the composition of the manifested Universe. It can be called a second stage as it comes into manifestation simultaneously with the Shiva Tattva becomes at all possible. The Shakti Tattva really means love, joy and bliss. When these aspects come into manifestation, the Shiva and the Shakti Tattvas remain united to each other. Only if conjoint with the Shakti, would Shiva earn the privilege to become over-lord, otherwise the god is not able even to stir. It is clear that the creative energy of the Shakti, in her threefold aspects of *Iccha* (Will), *Jnana* (Wisdom), and *Kriya* (Action) is essential for Shiva to accomplish anything. The Shiva-Shakti Tattvas are eternally existent for they do not disappear but remain in

the bosom of Parama Shiva as the seed of the universe to come. The Shiva is what may be called the Life (*Prana*) in the universal seed, while the Shakti Tattva abides as the potentially of the infinite variety of forms in which that life becomes manifest in a universe.

Shiva and Parvati are the first self- revelation of the Absolute, the male being the personification of passive aspect, the female being the activating divine energy- Shakti or universal power. This divine energy can have any form, but in order to present it in a concrete form, Kashmir Shaivism has made it more intelligible by presenting it in human form as Shiva and as Parvati. Whereas the Kashmiri Shaivism is deeply rooted in the Tantras it starts with Shiva, where Shakti plays an important role. As such, the *Kaula* practices of the *Tantraloka* are important mystical experiments to raise the lower level of one's being into higher levels. Broadly speaking Kashmir Shaivism called the *Trika* is a monastic idealism, *Adoit* Shastra. How can this *Adoit* are joined with *Doiet.*? Some have said that it can be connected through *Maya* or bondage. That means that *Maya* is an independent entity and *Isher* another, which means these are two entities.

The Kashmir scholars state that it is not so and the nature of Shiva is dramatic. He is director or *Sutardar* of his drama. He looks at everything from his personal view or *Aham,* meaning 'I'. Every thing is his *Leela* or doing. Thus Shiva vision is at the top prevailing in every thing, *Doiet, Adoit. Odoit, Devtas, Rakshas, Asuras,* good and bad are embraced by this vision. It is at the top of all the *Shastras.*

One *Shastra* is through *Vaikhury* or inspired talk, which another *Shastra* is through *Madima* or thinking media. This is very difficult as sometimes there are no specific words that can convey the thought. The author can not completely describe his thought. He does so but it leaves some deficiency. Then at the top is realization. In that everything appears as his own self. It is stage of *Paradoet,* where everything appears ones own self. Everything comes out of this vision and everything enters into this vision.

There are seekers of Kashmir Shaivism who want to ascend to the top stage directly. There are others who want to ascend stage by stage and enjoying the bliss of each stage. They became possessors spiritual powers in thses stages. They,finally taste the total bliss of last top stage

and get mingled with *Parma Shiva* at last. After attaining stage of a comprehensive Yogi, the entire universe becomes his body. In him prevails only "I" and "you"; *Iedum* is nowhere. Such a person knows everything prevailing anywhere and is posessed of extra ordinary powers. The Kashmiri thinkers believe that the self has an absolute existence and every living being is conscious of his existence. A Yogi who understands the tenants of Kashmir Shaivism can experience, *Turga* or the fourth stage of consciousness, through *Samadhi.* At that moment, he or she will feel that he or she exists everywhere and in everything of the universe. According to Kashmir Shaivism as Shakti is identical with Shiva, so is super consciousness identical with the universe. It teaches the most direct way to spiritual realization, for it recognizes that the divine nature is hidden in every human being. In this regard, Kashmir Shaivism is universal and makes no distinction on the basis of caste, creed or colour.

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10.

LALITADITYA THE GREAT:

Lalitaditya Muktapida ascended the throne in 724 A.D. He is known in history as a great king who brought glory and honour to the Kashmiris. He ushered a new era of prosperity in the realm. He has been mentioned in the Chinese the Turkish and the Tibetan legends as a great conqueror. In the Chinese annals, he is known as Mu-ti-pi, the king of Kashmir who sent an embassy to the Chinese court between 736-747 A.D.

Being eager like Alexander for new conquests, he set out on new expeditions every now and then.[1] After he subjugated the Punjab, he invaded the kingdom of Kanauj which had acquired importance during the reign of its ruler, Yasovarmana. Both the kings entered into an alliance and a treaty of friendship was drawn accordingly. Mitrasarman, the foreign Minister of Lalitaditya picked up a quarrel with Yasovarmana, which resulted in complete uprooting of the Kanauj army at the hands of the Kashmiris. Kanauj was annexed and by this conquest, Lalitaditya became the sovereign on north-western India.

This success created a desire in the king's heart for world conquest, which could not be allayed. According to Kalhana, the king then led an expedition for the conquest of Kalinga. The Kashmiri army had now equipped itself with a large number of elephants. Having conquered Kalinga, the king marched further and the king Javitagupta of Bihar and Bengal, were also defeated. From there, they advanced into the territory of Karnataka, which was ruled over by a benevolent queen named Ratta. She submitted and got protection and with her connivance, he marched towards the west. Gujrat was occupied and the Kashmiris then entered into the city of Dwarika.[2] Thus, the empire of Lalitaditya became the most powerful empire since the days of the Guptas.

Conqueror of Hindustan:

But the Kashmiris became uneasy at prolonged haltage and decided to march back. The king admonished them too strictly to observe discipline. However, the king turned his attention towards the eastern parts of Afghanistan. Cities after cities fell and the people fled away to the mountains. Now, he came, face to face, with the Caliphate of Islam, which had exended to the borders of Afghanistan by then.

While the Arabs were making efforts to advance towards Kabul, Lalitaditya got an easy opportunity to extend his sway towards the Indus. After having defeated the Shahis of Kabul, the king made his homeward march from Gilgit. Daradistan was completely over-run and occupied. Kalhana remarks, that the king did not tolerate the continuous drinking of wine by the Darads and their other sensual habits.[3] After having subdued them, he conquered some regions towards the north of Kashmir especially some parts of Ladakh.

National Glory

Through these conquests, Lalitaditya collected many treasures. He had subdued Orissa, Bengal, Decan, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Daradistan, Ladakh, Tibet and some territory in Central Asia. Many kings submitted and accepted Lalitaditya as their emperor. He got from Maghada a huge statue of Buddha, for installation in his capital. It is clear, that Kashmir commended the respect of many kingdoms of the south as well as of the north and the Kashmiris were fortunate enough to find a great leader, to lead them on the path of national glory.

The emperor granted *jagirs* to his dependant kings. The vanquished rulers and the subjugated people were ordered to adopt various characteristic marks by which their defeat and the glory of the Kashmiris could be indicated. With the passage of time, these characteristics became their habits. Some of the subjugated people were ordered to shave half of their head. Such other marks of bondage were forced upon the vanquished. Still, his attitude towards the vanquished people was magnanimous and munificient.

Parihasapura:

Lalitaditya was a great builder and a patron of arts and culture. He

created an environment, in which a movement of founding of big and small Buddhist and Shaivist temples was manifested. A number of Shrines, temples, cities were built by him. Pruntus, Latpore, Shadipore and numerous other towns were founded by him, but his other towns cannot be traced now. Religious endowments were granted for maintenance of the Shrines. Huge statues were erected at different places. The grand *viharas* at Parihasapura, in Kashmir were dedicated to Buddha. Here stood the three conventional huge structures, a temple, a monastery and a stupa, built of massive stones. The edifice was surrounded by a city. The emperor got erected a colossal statue of Buddha in copper, in the main stupa. It is a pity that Shankaravarmana burnt down the city of Parihasapura and got demolished these Buddhist *vihars* and the material was used by him for construction of temples dedicated to Shiva at Pattan.[4] Similarly, Harsha stole away all the statues and got them melted in order to fill in his treasury.[5]

The ancient site at Parihaspura is of great historical and Archaeological interest. Prior to the building of a new capital here by Lalitaditya, it was Buddhist site, where existed the royal *viharas* constructed during the Kushana period. It is an ancient megalith site, and the plateau was habitated by the cave-dwelers of Machihom, which lies adjacent to Devar. The site served as the launching pad of space-crafts by the prehistoric people. According to Kalhana, Lalitaditya built the four Shrines as *Vishnu Parihasa-kashava, Mukta-Kasheva, Mahavaraha* and *Govardhanadharam* here. He also built the famous *Raja-vihara* and installed a colossal image of Buddha at the site. But the site suggests that it has remained as such since prehistoric times and the king utilized the megaliths available, for his edifices. At present, the foundations of five ruins are available at the site. It is probable that the records of the fourth Buddhist Council, held during the region of Kanishka are buried here under the huge megalith in the centre of *stupa* towards the south. Lalitaditya patrionshed Buddhism and built a monastery at Ushkar, which has been partly excavated now. Here, he built a large *vihara*, with a stupa. He also built a Vishnu temple for the Hindus, which was quite separate from the Buddhist establishment. Ou-Kong, who reached Kashmir in 750 A.D. from Gandhara, spent four years in this monastery. According to Kalhana, Harsha destroyed those Buddhist, monuments ruthlessly, despite wailings of the Buddhists, who entreated him to spare the gods from his wrath.[6]

Martanda:

Lalitaditya got reconstructed on the old foundations, the famous shrine of the sun at Martand. Its position is superb and it rests on a plateau overlooking the valley. Perhaps, it is one of the most striking monuments of the Kashmiri architecture. Its spacious courtyard is enclosed with colossal stone pillars raised at different points. During his reign, gold, silver and statues made by the Buddhist craftsmen were put in these shrines. His example was followed by the queen, his ministers and officials. The emperor did not ignore to see if the works were completed. The sun temple of Martanda appears to have been remodeled at different periods. It was initially constructed by the Greeks of Kashmir and was later renovated by the Kushanas and also by the Hun ruler, Mihirakula. It was again remodeled by Ranaditya and finally reconstructed by Lalitaditya. Its three plinths have come to the light, uptill now and its walls appear to have been remodeled or strengthened several times by refixing of stone slabs, thus hiding the inner mural decorations. Its courtyard has also been enlarged and shortened from time to time. The shrine has remained Jewish, Zorastrian, Buddhist and Shaivite from time to time and its composition and character represents a composed and mixed culture which is Jewish, Greek and Hindu at the same time. Metal detectors show abundance of metal beneath it with a band of radio-active waves. The place is a megalithic site of prehistoric times and might have been used as a launching pad by the ancient astronauts.[7]

Administration:

The emperor was the over-lord of princes, a petty god for the people and a terror for other kings. The administrative machinery of the empire was divided into 23 departments, each under a minister. Some of the important offices, were the office of the High Chamberlain, the Chief Minister of the Foreign Affairs, Chief Master of the Household, High Keeper of Treasury, and that of the Chief Executive Officer.[8] These offices were held by princes and members of the aristocratic families. According to Kalhana, orders of the emperor were carried out by the officials and not a single order was disobeyed, 'even by the gods'. His army consisted of one lakh and fifty thousand soliders. It was equipped with a large number of elephants and horses etc.

Beacon light:

Lalitaditya imported talented and efficient men from other countries for administrative purposes. Jayanta Bhata, the author of *Nayanamonjri* is considered the foremost writer of the period. Beggary existed and 100,000 persons were fed on charity and dancing girls were kept in the temples. Even though, the emperor did not like drinks, he did not order prohibition in his empire and when intoxicated the emperor committed acts of terrible wickedness. Once, when he was intoxicated, he gave orders that the city of Pravarapura be burnt down and this order was not obeyed and instead they set on fire ricks of grass. He also got assassinated the king of Bengal by treachery. Al-Beruni makes mention of Lalitaditya a great king. He lost his life in one of his distant expeditions in the north and according to one version perished through excessive snow while proceeding towards Iran.[9] To the Kashmiris of later periods, Lalitaditya was a hero and his glorious reign has served as a beacon light to them in many a depressing days. In fact, he can be ranked among the greatest sons of Kashmir.

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11.

QUEEN DIDA

Ksemagupta succeeded his father in 950 A.D. Sensual and vicious by nature, he became still more wicked when he came to the throne. A habitual drunkard, he absorbed himself with his parasites in wine and women. According to Kalhana the royal court became an assembly of whores, villains, idiots and corruptors! The king himself was a shameless brute who indulged in sodomy and spent his spare time in jackal hunts and plunder. The famous Buddhist *vihara* of Jayendra was put on fire by him after plundering its treasures. Previous relics as well as golden statues of Buddha and other deities were got melted under his orders by the minority community living at Mleechimar in the capital.

The king of Lahorin gave his daughter, Didda in marriage to the king.[1] It was a political marriage, which not only brought Kashmir closer to Daradistan, but finally under the Lohara family. Didda though very young at the time of marriage, combined in her character all the qualities needed for a sovereign.

She was kind and generous but at the same time cruel and suspicious. In order to gain power, she would resort to any method, whether good or immoral and in this respect, she would go to the extremes. Though slightly lame, she was buxom, graceful and highly attractive. From the outset, she dominated the king to such an extent that he became hen-pecked and the people nicknamed him as 'Didda-Kshema'. She took part in all the affairs of the realm and her name was inscribed on the coins. The king absorbed himself in merry-making, while the queen exercised all royal powers. Didda, being extremely licentious had her own rounds with the ministers, so that her road to the throne could be cleared from obstacles. The king died under suspicious circumstances and the young Abhimanyu II was placed on the throne by the queen,

who became the regent.[2] Diplomatic, cunning, ruthless and energetic by nature, she possessed inborn qualities of ruler- ship and as such smoothened her path to the throne of Kashmir. All officials of the state and even ministers obeyed her and she dominated them. She would not tolerate disobedience and knew no mercy. It was her policy not to allow any one to become powerful enough to challenge her authority. Being suspicious by nature, she would not tolerate her ministers to become powerful and she resorted to political intrigues, externments and murders to achieve her aims. By showering affection at different periods on various ministers, she made them to fight with each other and perish.

Mahiman's Rebellion:

In the meanwhile, Mahiman and Patla, the pretenders hatched a conspiracy against the queen and aspired to seize the throne.[3] they collected a force and the queen, though alarmed also made preparations. As her position was weak, she restored to political deceit. She purchased the supporters of her enemies with gold and exhibited affection for her powerful minister.

Through his intervention, reconciliation was brought about between the queen and the rebels. The leaders of the rebels were given important posts and one of the rebels Yasodhara was posted as Commander-in-Chief. In order to get rid of him, he was proceeding against the Shahi ruler. As he won a victory he expected royal favor but she got him deported. This resulted in a mutiny in the forces, but she averted this danger by sheer courage, sagacity and political deceit. There were other dangers ahead and she faced them as a brave person.

Mutiny:

A fighting started between the troops, in the vicinity of Srinagar. The rebels were routed and their leaders were either killed or captured. The queen took a terrible vengeance on them. Those captured, were thrown into the river Jehlum with stones bound with their necks. All treacherous ministers along with their families were exterminated. During this crisis it was Naravahana, her minister who had stood by her and she in return paid him with love and all honors. He was appointed *Rajanaka* or the chief of the council of ministers. According to Kalhana, she slept, when he slept, took meals when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and out of sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent.[4]

But this personal attachment could not be useful for all times to the queen and when her attachment for him was removed by intriguers, Naravahana committed suicide.

Political Murders:

Now, the queen was without any wise councilor and a paramour, she recalled Pahalagana, who could not refuse the position of honour and worldly pleasures.

Didda used sex for political aims but her son became sick to see her evil conduct. He started questioning his mother about her ways, but she was not a lady to be questioned. Abhimanyu could not understand that the interests of the crown were dearer to her and she had to save them by whatever means she could employ. In order to forget himself, he absorbed himself in wine and women and died of consumption. The queen, felt great sorrow for her deceased son and became mild and kind. She started works of piety and many shrines, monasteries and temples were constructed through her efforts. This way of life was short lived and she again came to the fore front to handle affairs of the government. Nandigupta, who had replaced Abhimanyu began to quest her about her lust for pleasure. Didda was not a person to tolerate such interrogation and resorted to political murder. Nandigupta also died in suspicious circumstances. Now, she placed her grandson, Tribhuvana on the throne. He too was removed after some time and she now placed Bhimagupta, child on the throne. During all these years Didda was the real power. These nominal child kings came and went but her power remained like a rock fixed and unmoved. During all these years she had to face many enemies but made full use of gold and sex to overcome all her difficulties. Sex as an instrument for furtherance of crown interests developed as an institution during her reign. Didda changed paramours from time to time and made them to fight each other and perish.[5] She resorted to political murders, so as to gain political supremacy. She kept Bhimgupta in prison where he was also tortured to death, because he disliked her immoral conduct.

The Monarch:

Having removed all claimants to the throne, she in 980 A.D. resumed all powers absolutely in her own hands.6 She made her chief paramour, Tunga, a letter carrier, her chief minister and began to live

openly with him. This could not be tolerated by the other ministers, who hatched a conspiracy against her and her lover. They collected followers from all sides and Vigraharaja became their leader. The Brahmans succeeded in enraging the feelings of the masses against Tunga, but in reality they wanted to remove Didda. But she was a clever diplomat and she again made use of gold and purchased certain influential Brahmans. Tunga, now came forward and in warth took a terrible revenge on the rebels who were murdered ruthlessly. Thus, again the queen succeeded in averting disaster to her power.

Queen Didda, in order to divert attention of the people from home, ordered an expedition against Rajouri. Tunga, who took part in the campaign, burnt down the capital of Rajouri and made the raja to surrender. The net result of the war was that the people forgot her past and the forces of other nobles thinned in this expedition. Tunga after this victory obtained unlimited favors of the queen.7 Before her death, the queen nominated Somgramaraja as her successor.

Estimate:

For nearly half a century, Didda over-shadowed everyone in the realm. Nominal kings succeeded, one after the other, but Didda remained supreme.

All this shows that she was very cunning and tactful. Everything is fair in love and war, was her maxim. In wars, she played tricks, resorted to political treachery and in love she did not hesitate from murder. Inspite of her extraordinary qualities, she was suspicious and fickle-minded. Her favors were not continuous, nor was her enmity. Her personal character was not high and she indulged in excessive sexuality. She was ambitious and this lust for power increased as she advanced in age. She exercised influence at the court for few years, and then assumed the duties of a regent, then she virtually exercised the royal power and finally, she herself became the ruler. It goes to her credit that through her own efforts, she became a sovereign in those days when it was very difficult for a women to be even the master of the household. In fact, she was one of the greatest and the ablest rulers, who have adorned the throne of Kashmir throughout the ages.

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4. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* trans. Stein, VI. 262.
5. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* trans. Stein, VI. 321.
6. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* trans. Stein, VI. 332.
7. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* trans. Stein, VI. 355

12.

IBN-I-KHALDUN:

The world famous Muslim historian Abdal-Rahman Ibn Mohammad is generally known as Ibn Khaldun after a remote ancestor and was born in Tunis on May 27, 1332 A.D. According to him, his ancestors, who lived in Hadramut, Yemen, had migrated to Spain after the fall of Gibraltar to the Arabs in about 711 A.D. He was raised into an aristocratic and a scholarly family which took active part in the intellectual and political life of the court. He learned a lot from his father, who was a scholarly person, like his ancestors. He memorized the Holy Quran by heart at a very young age, and studied Arabic literature grammar, jurisprudence, hadith, mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy. A time came, when he reached a certain proficiency in these subjects and was certificated by his teachers. At the age of nineteen, the joined service as a seal –bearer in the royal court. Afterwards he worked for the rulers in Tunis and Fez (in Morocco), Granada (in Spain) and Baija (in Tunisia). In 1375 A. D. Ibn Khaldun crossed over, once more to Muslim Spain. Unfortunately, because of his political past, the ruler of Granada expelled him. He then went back to Algeria to spend four years in seclusion.

Ibn Khaldun had to move from one court to another, sometimes at his own will, but often forced to do so because of court intrigues by rivals against him or his participation in plots against the despotic sultans. Thus he learnt much from his encounters with rulers, ambassadors, politicians and scholars of the Muslim world. This turbulent period also included a three years refuge (1375-1378) in a small village Qalat. Ibn Salama in Algeria, who provided him with the opportunity to write the *Muqaddimah* or the introductory volume to his world history. This well known master-piece has won him an immortal place among historians, sociologists and philosophers. As he was in search of reference works, he moved to Cairo, Egypt in 1382 and was warmly welcomed by scholars and students in the great Al-Azhar University. During this period; he had to endure demotions and promotions from the in-going and out-going sultans. However, despite these set backs, he devoted his full time in completing his *Universal History*. During this very period, he was called upon by Sultan Faraj of Egypt to accompany him on his expedition to Damascus. But in the meanwhile Tamerlane, the Mongol ruler had laid siege of Damascus, and demanded its submission. The sultan having left back for Cairo, it was the task of Ibn Khaldun to settle the matter with Tamerlane. He went to the camp of the invader and extracted favorable terms for the people of Damascus.

He returned to Egypt and died at the age of seventy four on March 17, 1406 A.D. and was buried in the Sufi cemetery, outside Bab and Nasr, Cairo.

WORKS:

Ibn Khaldun's works can be classified into two categories: a) historical, and b) religious. Of his works on history, only his *Universal History* has survived to our day. Another work that is lost is the history that was written specifically for Tamerlane. His religious books are: *Lulab al-Mahsul*, a commentary on a *usul al-fiqah* poem, and a few works which are of questionable attribute to him, namely a Sufi tract "*Shifa' as-Sail*".

We feel that Ibn Khaldun goes beyond history, inventing a hitherto undiscovered discipline of sociology called *Umran* or the science of civilization.

THE MUQADDIMAH:

Due to its unique approach and original thoughts, the *Muqaddimah*, by Ibn Khaldun, is a masterpiece on the philosophy of history and sociology. This monumental work, tries to identity the psychological, social, economic and environmental factors that result in the advancement of civilization and culture. He has also identified and analyzed the causes for the rise and fall of families, nations and states. He is the originator of the idea that *Asabiya* or the feelings of unity among a group of human beings, result in creating a new culture as well as a

new launching pad for gaining political power. The factors contributing to such a situation, according to Ibn Khaldun can be divided into six parts as follows:

1. World and humanity.
2. Rural population and savage tribes.
3. Forms of governments and their rise and fall.
4. Urban population and its culture.
5. Means of livelihood and economic issues.
6. Knowledge resources and various disciplines.

In the *Muqaddimah*, he discusses variety of topics, including history and historiography. He points out the following four essentials in the study and analysis of historical writings:

(1) To relate events to each other through cause and effect,
(2) To draw analogy between past and present,
(3) To take into consideration the effect of the environment, and
(4) To take into consideration the effect of inherited and economic circumstances.

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS:

For Ibn Khaldun, history means a search for truth, conducted as a logical enquiry and understanding of regional and chronological peculiarities. Every particular event in history is to be understood against its social context, with a focus on human culture or *Umran*. According to Ibn Khaldun, it is only a book of history that places before us the affairs of the world and informs us about the various periods and eras through which the peoples have passed. It is only a book of history which tells about the passage of critical events, through which people had to pass leading to the rise and fall of governments.

> *"It should be known that historiography is our exhalted realm of knowledge, beneficial in many ways; for it tells us about the events and culture of earlier nations, about the life and work of the prophets, and about the political affairs of the rulers, so that we obtain guidance to see the right way to proceed upon."*

In reality history is deeply rooted in philosophy. For Ibn Khaldun, a book on history relates the causes and effects as well as the development of state and civilizations with creative analysis. To him history is subject to universal laws. According to Ibn Khaldun, the historians commit errors in their study of historical events, due to three major factors:

(1) Their ignorance of the natures of civilization and peoples,
(2) Their bias and prejudice and
(3) Their blind acceptance of reports given by others.

Ibn Khaldun point out that true progress and development comes through correct understanding of history, and correct understanding can only be achieved by observing the following three main points.

> *First, a historian should not be in any way prejudiced for or against any one or any idea.*
>
> *Second, he must conform and scrutinize the reported information.*
>
> *Third, he should not limit history to the study of political and military news or to news about rulers and states, but should include the study of all social, religious, and economic conditions of human society.*

Ibn Khaldun's view of history is that man is at the centre of events, but gets involved in a whirlpool of circumstances, which are not of his creation but manipulations of the supernatural. However, he also thinks that the course of events proceed in accordance with the objective conditions of environment. According to him a historical work is mainly a subject of study of the affairs of men, inter-linked with the events of the world.

> *"It is necessary for a historian to understand the intricacies of politics, and the nature of prevalent circumstances. He should acquire knowledge about and understanding of different nations, their habits and characteristics, together information about their legends and creeds, during various periods of time. It is also necessary for a historian to make a comparison between the past events with the present events, so as to ascertain similarities. One must also ascertain the nature of differences between the two epochs and then attempt to find the causes which have lead to the present stalemate. It should be kept in mind that in every period of history, the events and affairs of*

nations in the present will be different from the past."

Ibn Khaldun advises a historian that through the study of human society, one can distinguish between the possible and the impossible, and make a distinction of its phenomenon, which is essential or which is accidental. According to him a historian must analyse in detail the sources of error in historical writings. He must shun the desire to gain the favor of those in high rank, by biased praise in total ignorance of the laws governing the transformation of human society. Ibn Khaldun argues that history is subject to universal laws and states the criterion for historical truth in these words:

> *"The rule for distinguishing what is true from what is false in history is based on its possibility or impossibility: That is to say, we must examine human society and discriminate between the characteristics which are essential and inherent in its nature and those which are accidental and need not be taken into account, recognizing further those which cannot possibly belong to it. If we do this, we have a rule for separating historical truth from error by means of demonstrative methods that admits of no doubt. It is a genuine touchstone by which a historian may verify whatever he relates."*

TRUTH AND UNTRUTH IN HISTORY:

Ibn Khaldun says that there is every possibility of errors in any book of history, due to the uncertainty of truth or untruth about any happening. Then he narrates the reasons for error by their very nature in history as follows:

a .Partisanship. Any writer, who is too deep a believer in any creed or opinion, at once believes in any information which is favorable to his belief or religion. Thus, he becomes a partisan and cannot differentiate between truth and untruth.

b. Overconfidence. Anyone, who is overconfident of his source, copies that source without any judgment.

c. Failure of understanding. Another trap for the historian is the failure to understand the intention of that source.

d. Mistaken belief. Another pitfall is the mistaken belief in the truth of sources.

e. Fabrication. The desire to gain favors of those in high ranks makes one to use flattery and spread untruths in their writings.

f. Context. Inability to place an event or incident in its real context makes one to commit mistakes.

g. Ignorance. Those who are ignorant of the laws governing the transformation of human society are bound to commit errors.

From the above, it is clear that Ibn Khaldun is a historian of logic and evidences. He uses logic in analysing observations and then arriving at the truth.

CYCLES OF HISTORY:

Ibn Khaldun's theory about cycles of history – the rise and fall of governments, dynastic changes and its related efforts on the economic life of people, is a unique contribution towards the study of civilizations. The ideas set in by him in the 15th century are being applied and tested by analysts of the modern times also. His observations fit in very well even in recent times. His study of history shows that states and political boundaries of states undergo profound changes at certain periods of time. According to him civilizations have lifespans like individuals.

To Ibn Khaldun, all dynastic history moves in circles. He says that prestige is an accident that affects human beings. It reaches its end in a single family within four successive generations. The family's glory gets on declining generation to generation, till it reaches the fourth generation, where it is inferior. Hence there is always a change, where one group or one nation swallows the other.

Ibn Khaldun develops a comprehensive theory of the dynastic cycle, describing as to how changes occur in the lifespan of a society during its rise, zenith, degeneration and eventual fall. In Ibn Khaldun's thinking the fate of a dynasty is closely connected with the events in the spheres of commerce, craftsmanship, culture, bureaucratic institutions, urban development, military organization, religion, and education. According to him the causes for the decline are social, political and economic. The theory of changes or the cycles of history, as propounded by Ibn Khaldun apply to besides rise and falls of a dynasty or royal authority to the emergence and decay of cities, also.

THE HAND OF GOD:

Ibn Khaldun is a Muslim and his whole life was spent among the Muslims. He derived all his experiences from the rulers and scholars of the Muslim world. However, his theories regarding philosophy of history and its lessons do not apply to Muslim societies only but to all societies. For him the political power emerges from the natural instinct in all human groups.

Ibn Khaldun often criticizes idle superstition and uncritical acceptance of historical data. As a result, he introduced a scientific method of creating historical works. But, at the same time, he is of opinion that the potential for divine interference or the hand of God in human affairs, in one way or other, at any given time, is an established fact.

> *"When God wants a nation to be deprived of royal authority, He causes its members to commit blameworthy deeds and to practice all sorts of vices. This leads to the complete loss of their political virtues, which will continue to be destroyed until they no longer exercise royal authority. Someone else will exercise it in their stead. This is to constitute an insult to them, in that the royal authority God had given them and good things he had placed at their disposal are taken away from them. Upon close investigation, many such instances will be found among the nations of the past."*

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13.

HAZRAT BULBUL SHAH QALANDAR

Prince Rinchena is known as Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena in the Ladakhi chronicles. His father Lha Chen Nagorub of Ladakh (1300-1325) made him his heir-apparent in lifetime. The prince was married with a princess from Kharmang, and she bore him a son, who later came to be known as Lha Chen Shesrab. After this marriage, the nobles of Kharmang hatched a conspiracy against the king of Ladakh and succeeded in annihilating Lha Chen Nagorub. This tragedy had a great effect on Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena, who fled away towards Kashmir from the capital of Ladakh, leaving his wife and his son there.[1] At the time of his flight, he was accompanied by his courtiers, soldiers and a large number of followers. Having reached Dras, he crossed over the Zoji-la pass and reached Sonamarg. Since ancient times, this route was a connecting link between Kashmir and Ladakh. Having occupied the fort of Gagangir in the Lar valley, he settled there as a refugee. This fort belonged to Ramchandra, the chief minister of the Kashmiri king, who was but eager to obtain support of foreign princes. At the instance of the king, he sent his emissaries to the Ladakhi prince and sought his friendship. In this way, Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena, not only got shelter but employment also. He joined the group of those nobles, who belonged to the royal court. Having succeeded in obtaining royal patronage, Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena brought the locality of Nilasar in Lar also under his control. Thus from a refugee, he raised to the position of a feudal lord, through the efforts of Ramchandra.[2]

MONGOL INVASION

In 1320 Zulchu or Zulju, a general of the Mongol king of Khwarizm invaded Kashmir along with a huge army consisting of 70,000 cavalry men and foot soldiers. These Mongol invaders entered the valley by the

Baramulla pass. According to Jonaraja, Zulchu came just as a lion comes into a deer's den. This invasion was not a mere episode in the history of Kashmir, but the most important event, which produced far-reaching consequences. The king Suhadeva and his government got paralyzed with fear. The Mongols marched towards the capital of the kingdom in a systematic way. They resorted to loot, arson and rape. Their main aim was to carry out the wholesale destruction of Kashmir. At this critical juncture of history, the king Suhadeva and his ministers escaped towards Kishtawar for personal safety leaving the Kashmiris to the mercy of God. Ramchandra, who had shut himself in the fort at Lar, thought himself the rightful claimant to the throne of Kashmir. He proclaimed himself as the new king in place of Suhadeva, who had fled away from the country.[3]

At that very time, the Abhisaras clan rose to fish in the troubled waters. This tribe is also known as Khasha, which had brought Rajauri under its influence and ruled over it as a subject state under the king of Kashmir. The self-imposed king, Ramchandra, took measures to repulse the Abhisaras. He deputed Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena with a substantial army to repulse the raiders, who had reached in the outskirts of the capital. It goes to the credit of Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena that he succeeded in driving out the Abhisaras. Whatever treasures he obtained from this war, he sent these to Ramchandra, who was staying in the fort at Andarkot at that time. Instead of thanking and honoring Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena for getting rid of the raiders and saving Kashmir, Ramchandra became apprehensive of the raising power of Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena. While the masses praised Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena for his valor, the king considered him as a thorn- in his rib. He now contrived to annihilate Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena whom he considered as his rival.[4]

In the meanwhile, Suhadeva, who had received news about the destruction of Zulchu and defeat of the Abhisaras, came back from Kishtawar, to occupy the throne. He fought against Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena but failed. Having seized with fear, he again fled to Pramandala. According to Jonaraja, his reign came to an end after nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days.

ACCESSION

Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena now elevated himself to the status of a

sovereign in 1320. Ramchandra, who had proclaimed himself as the king earlier, tried to hinder the new king towards occupying the capital. In order to eliminate Ramchandra from the scene, Rinchena laid a siege on the fort at Lar. In the ensuing battle, Ramchandra was killed and his family made captives.

However, Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena exhibited magnanimity in appointing Ravachandra, the eldest son of Ramchandra, as his councilor. He granted the principality of Lar to him and made him overlord of the hilly regions of Gurais and Dras. Further, at his coronation, he got himself married with Kota Devi, the daughter of his fallen enemy. She was granted the title of Rani or queen, and henceforth was to be called Kota Rani instead of Kota Devi. Her brother was given the title of Raina and given authority over the hilly regions of the kingdom.[5]

RINCHENA AND DEVASWAMI

Despite the fact that Jonaraja gives the title of *Suratrana* or Sultan to Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena, he is silent about the religious beliefs of the new king. He briefly mentions the name of Devaswami, who had refused to admit Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena into the Siva faith because of the king having been born in a Buddhist family. He writes that, in the beginning Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena was not a strict follower of any religion. But he administered justice according to the best principles of all religions. At the time of his ascension to the throne, there were a few Muslim pockets in his kingdom, but most of them were ignorant about the tenets of Islam. The majority of his subjects were Hindus and Buddhists. Besides them, there were some followers of other faiths like Mithraism and Judaism also but these constituted a fraction of the population.

Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena being a non-Kashmiri, wanted to obtain support of a vast number of people and this could be no other than the Shaivites of Kashmir. He was a Buddhist by faith but their number was not very significant in the valley. As such, he approached Devaswami, the head of the Brahmanas and asked for admittance into their fold. His plea was rejected due to the reason that in the Hindu caste system none can be admitted into the high caste of the Brahmanas, despite all qualities. They would not admit him into the next caste of Khastriyas, for he was a Buddhist by birth. He could not be taken into the third caste of Vaishas, as he was not a trader. Thus, only the last

class of untouchables – the Shudras, was available for him, and Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena – as a prince of Ladakh would surely reject, with contempt. It is clear that when his request for admission into the Hindu fold was rejected by the Brahmanas, headed by Devaswami, he decided to settle the issue by a sight-oracle.[6]

HAZRAT BULBUL SHAH QALANDAR

The contemporary chronicler, Jonaraja is silent about the religion, which Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena finally adopted. However, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, which the first ever available source on the issue, has provided full information regarding this conversion. According to him, when Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena started making enquires to adopt the right path, he decided that he would embrace the religion of the first man he would meet after coming out of his palace. Next morning he came out of his palace and saw a *Dervish* offering *Nimaz* with full devotion. The king ordered his councilors to invite the *Dervish* to his palace and asked for interpreters for audience. When enquired the *dervish* told him that his name was Bulbul Qalandar and his religion was Islam. He than mentioned to him some of the miracles performed by the Holy Prophet and the virtues and superior qualities of Ali, the Imam. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* further comments as under:

> *Rinchena's heart had previously been blackened by the false beliefs. Now he subjected himself to the Shariah of Mustafa, and the right principles of the Tarikah of Murtaza, and embraced Islamic religion with sincerity and conviction. He gave up once for all, the false and corrupt religions.*[7]

Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar is one of the most celebrated Sufi saints of Kashmir, who ushered a religious evolution in Kashmir, by conquering the heart of the ruler as well as his subjects.

NAME AND ANCESTRY

Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar has been given several names and titles by the Kashmiri authors. While Jonaraja is mum about the name of the *Dervish*, the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* mentions that when asked, the saint told the king that his name was Bulbul Qalandar and he

was a Muslim. Mohammad Azam in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* has mentioned him as Baba Bulbul Shah. While Rafi-uddin in his *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* calls him Sayyid Sharaf-uddin, Baba Dawood Mishkati in his *Asrar-ul-Abrar* mentions him as Hazrat Baba Bilal in these verses:

> *He that in the way of the Lord, shines as moon and crescent,*
> *Surely is Bulbul in the garden of purity.*
> *He that planted the tree of religion in Kashmir,*
> Is Sheikh and Murshid Hazrat Baba Bilal.

Pir Ghulam Hassan in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* asserts that his real name was Sayyid Sharaf-uddin. Some writers called him Sayyid Sharaf-uddin Abdur Rehman Turkistani However in Kashmir, he is known popularly as Bulbul Shah.[8]

Hazrat Bulbul Shah was a descendant of Hazrat Imam Moosa Kazim, the 7th Imam. His table of genealogy as given in the *Shajra-tul-Taiba* is given below:[9]

Imam Musa Al-Kazim
Sayyid Abual Qasim Hamza
Sayyid Abu Mohammad
Sayyid Ahmad Arabi
Sayyid Mohammad
Sayyid Ismail
Sayyid Mohammad
Sayyid Jaffar
Sayyid Ibrahim
Sayyid Mohammad
Sayyid Hassan
Sayyid Mohammad
Sayyid Ashraf Shah

Sayyid Mohammad
|
Sayyid Feroz Shah Zarien Kulat
|
Sayyid Awaiz ul-Khwais
|
Sayyid Mohammad Al-Hafiz
|
Sayyid Salah-uddin
|
Sayyid Qutub-uddin
|
Sayyid Salah
|
Sayyid Ameen-uddin Jabriel
|
Sayyid Sharif-uddin alias Bulbul Shah

There is a controversy as to which *Silsila* of the Sufis he belonged. Copying earlier sources Baba Dawood Miskini in his *Asrar-al-Abrar*, while naming him as Sayyid Abdul Rehman, asserts that he was a direct disciple of Shaikh Shihab-uddin Suhrawardi (1144-1234), the successor of the founder of the Suhrawari Order. This view is incorrect according to Mohammad Azam because there is a gap of 93 years between the appearances of Hazrat Bulbul Shah in Kashmir 725 AH. (1320 AD.), and the death of the Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi in 634 AH. (1234 AD.).[10] Another historian Haji Ghulam Mohiuddin Miskin is of opinion that Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar was a disciple of Mulla Ahmad Alama, who accompanied Bulbul Shah.[11] This seems incorrect because Mulla Ahmad served as the Chief Justice in the reign of Sultan Shamasuddin Shahmiri (740-743 AH.). We know that Hazrat Bulbul Shah during his arrival in Kashmir passed away in 727 AH. (1327 AD.), long before the advent of Mullah Ahmad.

It has also come to our knowledge that Sayyid Safi-uddin Ishaq, who was Sayyid Sharaf-uddin's brother, founded his own Sufi *Silsila*, which is known as the Saifi Sufi Order. His tomb exists in Ardabil in Azarbayjan, Iran. It is most probable that Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar belonged to the Sufi Order established by his brother.[12]

BLENDING OF CULTURES

Adaptation of Islam as his religion by Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena is a turning point in the history of Kashmir. It shows that Islam was brought

to Kashmir by a Buddhist king, who became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. Following his examples, his queen Kota Rani, his councilors, including Ravachandra, his Ladakhi Buddhist retainers and bodyguards, his Kashmiri nobles and officers of the government became Muslims at the hands of Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar. It is also recorded in historical works that following the example of their sovereign, many among the low caste Hindus such as the *Shudras* and *Vaishahs* embraced Islam to liberate themselves from the shackles of the Brahmanical system. Even though, some believe that Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena's conversion to Islam was promoted by political reasons, yet majority of the scholars believe that there was no compulsion in his conversion to Islam. Stein in his translation of the *Rajatarangini* says that Islam made its way into the valley not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion.[13]

This was a unique and a silent revolution, in which a mass of people along with their ruler changed religion in a most peaceful way. It was mixing and blending of three cultures; Buddhist, Shaivist and Islam into one culture, known now as *Kashmiriat*.[14]

BULBUL LANKAR

Jonaraja, the contemporary historian of the period gives the title of *Suratrana* to Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena, which is equivalent to a *Sultan* in Persian terminology. After his conversion, his mentor gave the king the title of Shaha. Thus he came to be known as Sultan Rinchena Shah, the first Muslim king of Kashmir.[15]

The king Sultan Ricnhena Shah got constructed a *Khankah* or a cloister for his spiritual mentor, Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar, near his palace in Srinagar. For maintenance of the Dervishes and mendicants, the Sultan got constructed quarters, where free food was served to them. The locality in which this Khanqah-i-Bulbul Shah was built came to be known as Bulbul Lankar during rule of the Chak Sultans, who provided free kitchen to the mystics and *Mureeds* staying in the Khankah and its premises.[16]

Sultan Rinchena Shah also got built a mosque near the Khanqah for his *Murshid*, where regular prayers were conducted on all days. The Sultan would present himself before his mentor, Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar and make obeisance to him on Fridays.[17]

HAIDAR CHANDRA

Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar took measures to train and educate Ravachandra on the Sufi path. He being the brother of the queen received much affection from him, for he was the second person to have become a Muslim after Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena. Shortly, afterwards, a son was born to the queen Kota Rani, who was named Haidar Chandra, surely by Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar. Jonaraja who is the contemporary historian is silent on the subject of conversion of the king. He only mentions that the king's request to be admitted into the Shavite faith was rejected by Devaswami. But the chronicle, subsequently titles Lha Chen Gyalbu Rinchena as the *Suratrana* and thus he implicitly accepts the king having become a Muslim. However, he makes mention of an important event in the life of Sultan Rinchena Shah i.e. the birth of the heir-apparent, who is mentioned as Haidar Chandra by Jonaraja.[18]

ATTEMPT ON SULTAN'S LIFE

As times passed on, more and more converts started visiting the Khankah at Bulbul Lankar. The Sultan got built a three-storey hostel for them. As all these acts were abhorrent to the Hindus, some of them entered into a conspiracy to annihilate Sultan Rinchena. The conspirators lead an attack under the command of Udayanadeva on the royal palace. But the Ladakhi body-guards of the Sultan made them to flee towards the battleground of Id-gah. Most of the conspirators were either killed or captured. Sultan Rinchena Shah ordered them to be impaled on stakes.[19] In 1323, Sultan Rinchena Shah fell ill and passed away after having ruled for 3 years, one month and 19 days. He was buried in the Khanqah-i-Bulbul Shah. Before his death he entrusted his queen Kota Rani and his son, Haidar Chandra to the care of a prominent feudal lord, named Shahamira.

DEMISE OF HAZRAT BULBUL SHAH

Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar passed away in 727 AH/1327 AD. The following chronogram, composed by Mohammad Azam the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* relates to the demise of the saint.

Saal Tarikh Wasal Bulbul Shah

Bulbul Qudus Guft: 'Khas-i-Allah.'

The words, *Khas-i-Allah* or 'godly person' gives the date in Hijra era as 727 which corresponds to 1327 AD.[20]

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14. *Kashmiriat* or the composite culture of the Kashmiris is Buddhist, Shaivist and Islamic at the same time.
15. The contemporary historian Jonaraja calls him Suratrana Rinchena while the author of *Baharistan-I-Shahi* mentions him as Rinchena Shah. It appears that he was known to the Kashmiris as *Raichan Shah or Raitan Shah.* He was never known as Sultan *Sadr-uddin* during his lifetime. This name it appears, is an after thought invented by the later historians.

Chukar Partridge

The Chukar Partridge or Chukar (*Alectoris chukar*) is a Eurasian upland gamebird in the pheasant family Phasianidae. It has been considered to form a superspecies complex along with the Rock Partridge, Philby's Partridge and Przevalski's Partridge and treated in the past as conspecific particularly with the first. This partridge has well marked black and white bars on the flanks and a black band running from the forehead across the eye and running down the head to form a necklace that encloses a white throat. The species has been introduced into many other places and feral populations have established themselves in parts of North America and New Zealand. It is the national bird of Pakistan.

Description

The Chukar is a rotund 32–35 cm (13–14 in) long partridge, with a light brown back, grey breast, and buff belly. The shades vary across the various populations. The face is white with a black gorget. It has rufous-streaked flanks, red legs and coral red bill. Sexes are similar, the female slightly smaller in size and lacking the spur. The tail has 14 feathers, the third primary is the longest while the first is level with the fifth and sixth primaries.

It is very similar to the Rock Partridge (*Alectoris graeca*) with which it has been lumped in the past but is browner on the back and has a yellowish tinge to the foreneck. The sharply defined gorget distinguishes this species from the Red-legged Partridge which has the black collar breaking into dark streaks near the breast. Their song is a noisy *chuck-chuck-chukar-chukar* from which the name is derived. The Barbary partridge (*Alectoris barbara*) has the a reddish brown rather than black collar with the grey throat and face with a chestnut crown they get therened.

Other common names of this bird include Chukker (sometimes spelled as 'Chuker' or 'Chukor'), Indian Chukar and Keklik.

Distribution and Habitat

This partridge has its native range in Asia, from Israel and Turkey through Afghanistan, India, Pakistan along the inner ranges of the Western Himalayas to Nepal. Further west in southeastern Europe it is replaced by the Red-legged Partridge, *Alectoris rufa*. It barely ranges into Africa on the Sinai Peninsula. The habitat in the native range is rocky open hillsides with grass or scattered scrub or cultivation. It is mainly found at an altitude of 2000 to 4000 m except in Pakistan, where it occurs at 600m. They are not found in areas of high humidity or rainfall.

It has been introduced widely as a game bird, and feral populations have become established in the United States-Rocky Mountains, Great Basin, high desert areas of California, Canada, New Zealand and Hawaii. Initial

14.

IMPACT OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR:

Now, interesting information is available about the deputation of envoy by the Glorious Prophet, with a letter to Raja Veenaditya of Kashmir. The advent of Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar a Sufi Saint is a turning point in the history of Kashmir. It was at his hands that the last Buddhist king of Kashmir, Rinchana, became a Muslim along with his family members, Ladakhi retainers and nobles and the Buddhists. Islam was brought to Kashmir by a Buddhist king, who became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. This was unique and silent revolution, in which a mass of people along with their ruler adopted another religion in a most peaceful way.

Prior to the advent of Sufism of Persia and Central Asia into the valley of Kashmir, there existed its own indigerious mysticism known as the Rishi order. The Kashmiri Rishis preached love of mankind, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. One such foremost and earliest great Rishi saint of Kashmir is known as Lalla, Lallaeshwari or Lalla Ded. "By looking at the present day condition of the Kashmiri nation, the military might of Sultan Shihab-uddin looks like a amyth. It is a humiliating transition from conquest to cowardice, during the course of last six centuaries. The Kashmiri were never so powerful as a conquering nation, as during the reigns of Latitaditya Muktapida or Sultan Shihab-uddin.

The Rishi Order was a meeting groung of both the above movements and is indigenous to Kashmir. The standard

bearer of this order is the Patron Saint of Kashmir Hazrat Nund Rishi alias Hazrat Sheikh Noor-uddin Noorani Kashmiri. Sayyid Ali Hamadani transformed the 14th century caste-ridden Kashmiris into enlightened people but also gave them a sound economic, social, and spiritual base to stand as civilized people among the comity of nations. Sultan Sikandar Shah is responsible for the religious persecution of his Hindu subjects.

Sultan Zain-ul abidin popularly known as Sultan-al-Azam Bud Shah or the great king in Kashmir is perhaps the most liberal Muslim ruler among all Muslims kings of India. Mirza Haidar due to his inborn enmity, intense hatred with those who consider themselves as the lovers of Ahal-Bait-i-Rasool Allah ordered destruction of the sacred Khanqah of Hazrat Amir Shamas-uddin. Further, he gave orders for shedding the blood of all those who were devoted to Islam and all those who were mystics. Padshah Gazi Husain Shah stands out as one of greatest kings of Kashmir. His rule of about seven years was exceptional in many respects. He was a benevolent monarch who worked for the prosperity, welfare and happiness of the people. Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Ghazi was a gifted ruler with qualities of head and heart. Baba Dawood Khaki in his Qasida Gusliya Yusuf Shahi describes the king as a famous monarch, embodiment of kindness and generosity, the patron of scholars and a great friend of the pious and the saints. The Mughals, right from their advent in India, followed a policy of dominating other lands and people. In 1585, the Mughal army consisting of over fifty thousand horsemen, fully armed invaded Kashmir from Attok. But the Moghul invaders suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Kashmiris. As such, the Mughal resorted to treachery and invited Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah for talks with the Mughal Emperor Akbar. But in clear breach of trust the Kashmiri king was imprisoned and later banished to Bihar.

Long before the advent of the Indus civilization, India had established its trade and cultural relations with the countries of the Middle East. This civilization was in fact the projection of the Mesopotamia civilization. India was connected with the Arabian Peninsula through the Silk Route, via Afghanistan, Iran and Mesopotamia. Existence of sea trade between India and the Arabs has been established by historical evidences. Long before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 712. Zomorin the king of Malabar, had accepted Islam. His example was followed by his subjects, who also accepted Islam during the life time of the Prophet of Islam. Zomorin even travelled by sea to Arabia but died at Yeman where he was buried as a Muslim.

In 628 AD the Glorious Prophet deputed his envoys to different capitals with letters informing them about his sacred mission. Historical evidence is available about envoys to Hercules, the Roman Emperor and the kings of Ethiopia, Iran and Egypt. The letter to the king of Iran was sent through Abdullah bin Hudhafa. The Holy Prophet also sent a letter to Mundhir Taimi, the Amir of Bharain through his envoy Ala ibn Hadrami. Again the Glorious Prophet also wrote to the Amirs of Yamama, the king of Ghassan and the Amirs of various tribes in Yeman. In 630 AD the Holy Prophet again sent envoys to various rulers in Asia. A letter was sent to the ruler of China through Abu Hanifa Yaman, who had to travel by the Silk Road, the great trans-Asian highway linking Sian in China with Antioch in Rome. On his way to China, he got stuck up in Kashmir due to heavy snow fall Abu Hazifa Yamani came to Kashmir, which was an important post on the Silk Rod for his onward journey to Kashmir, Khotan, Miran and finally to Sian. The Arab envoy and his party were treated well by the Raja Veenaditya of Kashmir. He even bestowed the title of Zalkar on Abu Hazifa Yamani. Now, another interesting information is available about the deputation of envoy by the Glorious Prophet, with a letter to Raja Veenaditya of Kashmir. It is mentioned that the Holy Prophet did depute his two emissaries with some gifts and a letter to the Raja of Kashmir. Unfortunately, the name of the envoy has not been mentioned by the scholar. He simply showers praises on the natural scenic beauty of Kashmir and praises the noble qualities of the ruler. He says that Raja Veenaditya was a good ruler, who considered his subjects as his children. It was due to his noble and kind behavior that the Glorious Prophet of Arabia, sent his envoy with a letter to Raja Veenaditya.

We are not aware about the contents of the Holy Prophets's letter. We can only surmise by pondering over the letter sent by the Holy Prophet to the king of Iran.

> *In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful. The Messenger of God to Chosroes, the King of Iran. Whoever submits to a perfect guidance and bears witness that Allah is one and Muhammad is His Servant and Messenger, on him be peace. O King, under the command of God, I have been sent as His Messenger to all mankind. If you reject this invitation, the sin of denial of all your people will rest on your head.*

GYALBU RINCHANA (1320-1323)

The Mongol invasion became a turning point in the history of Kashmir. Suhadeva having fled towards Kishtawar, the throne of Kashmir remained vacant and several war-lords aspired to sit on it, including, Rinchana, Shahamira and Langar Chak. Ramachandra, who had shut himself in the fort at Lar, thought himself the rightful cliament to the throne of Kashmir. But Gyalbu Rinchana proclaimed himself as the new king of Kashmir in place of Suhadeva, who had fled from the country. He elevated himself to the status of *Suratrana* or Sultan in 1320. Jonaraja, describes the event in these words:

> *The country was weary of trouble and disorder, and Shri Rinchana Suratrana gave it rest under the shelter of his arm. When the dark day disappeared, the people of Kashmira witnessed again all the festivities which they had beheld under their former kings. In every place the Lavanyas remained quite as lamps, but trembled at the power of the king, like lamps in the morning breeze. A division was made among them by the secret devices of the king, even as an arrow is sent into a raft. Strange that the unity among the Lavanyas was thus relaxed. Easily like the birds in the sky, the king roamed in that thorny wood, where even the god of love had become bewildered. The king knew very well how to bestow his favours on all, but he never forgave the wicked, although he might be his son, or minister or friend, it was thus that he served his people's weal.*

It is a historical fact that Gyalbu Rinchana who belonged to the royal family of Ladakh, possessed all the qualities of a ruler. He was gifted with uncommon qualities of energy, valour and patience. He could face great dangers with perseverance and wisdom. He is credited by Jonaraja to have brought peace to the country after the Mongol holocaust. This contemporary historian is in praise for Rinchana for administration of justice to the people, irrespective of caste or status.

HAZRAT BULBUL SHAH QALANDER

The advent of Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar, a Sufi Saint is a turning point in the history of Kashmir. It was at his hands that the last Buddhist king of Kashmir, Rinchana, became a Muslim along with his family members, Ladakhi retainers and nobles and the Buddhists. Hazrat Bulbul Shah Qalandar is one of the most celebrated Sufi saints of Kashmir, who ushered a religious evolution in Kashmir, by conquering the heart of the ruler as well as his subjects. At that time the majority of his subjects were Hindus and Buddhists. There were followers of other faiths like Mithraism and Judaism also but these constituted a fraction of the total population. In his heart, the king cherished to enshrine good principles of all religions. But, being a non- Kashmiri, he also wanted to obtain the support of a vast number of people. This could be no other than the Shiavites of Kashmir. He was a Buddhist by faith but their number was not significant in the valley. As such, he approached Devaswami, the head of the Brahmanas to admit him in their fold. His plea was rejected due to the reason that in the Hindu caste system none can be admitted into the high caste of the Brahmanas, despite all qualities.

The above assertions would show that Islam was brought to Kashmir by a Buddhist king, who became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. Following his examples, his queen Kota Rani, his councillors, including Ravanchandra, his Ladakhi Buddhist retainers and body-guards, his Kashmiri nobles and officers of the government became Muslins at the hands of Hazrat Bulbul Shah. This was unique and silent revolution, in which a mass of people along with their ruler adopted another religion in a most peaceful way. In fact it was mixing and blending of three cultures, Buddhist, Shavist and Islam into one culture, known now as *Kashmiriat.*

SULTAN-AL-AZAM SHAMAS-UDDIN (1339-1342)

According to Jonaraja, Shahamira proclaimed himself as the king under the title of Shamas-uddin, at the time when the whole body of the powerful Damaras offered allegiance to him. After his accession to the throne, tranquility prevailed in the kingdom.The Sultan abolished extra taxes, which had been imposed on the people previously. In case of agricultural produce one-sixth of the produce was fixed as revenue. In order to check the power of feudal chiefs, he raised into promiance, two tribes, the Magrays, who were Kashmiris and the Chaks who had came to Kashmir from Dardistan. The next king, Sultan Ali Sher abolished the evil custom under which a childless widow, though unchaste obtained a share of her husband's property from her father-in-law. The wise king made Jayapidapura in Sambal, his capital and beautified it with palaces and markets. He also got built new palaces at Rinchanpura and Buddhagira in Shahr-i-Khas.

RISHI ORDER:

Prior to the advent of Sufism of Persia and Central Asia into the valley, there existed in Kashmir its own indigenous mysticism known as the Rishi order. The Kashmiri Rishis preached the brotherhood of mankind, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. They practiced very hard ascetic practices of the Yoga, together with mortification of the individual soul as practiced by the Buddhist monks. At the same time, they laid emphasis on individual salvation by connecting self-consciousness with the ultimate. These Rishis believed in beholding the Divine Being by looking within, during meditation. By focusing the mind on that which is real, by *Pranayama* or breathing techniques, these Rishis did attain sudden illumination. One such foremost and earliest great Rishi saint of Kashmir is known as Lallaeshwari and Lalla Ded. Her life is shrouded in myths but her poetic compositions has been handed over from generations to generations in Kashmir. However, Lalla was a historical personality and has been mentioned in several historical works of Kashmir. Pir Ghulam Hassan Khuihami, in his *Tarikh-i-Hassan* says

> *"Lady mystic Lalla, who was the second Rabia of Bassra, came to this world in the year seven hundred year of Hijra, at Sempur in the house of a Brahmin, and exhibited miracles from her childhood"*

LALLA AND SHAHDENA:

Jonaraja in his *Rajatarangini*, has given an account of an event, which is of great interest in connection with the life story of Lalla. It is reproduced as follows

> *"Once upon a time the prince (Shahadena) was wandering for amusement in the forest of Vakpushta, when he saw a circle of Yoginis in the cavern of a mountain. His friends Udayashri and Chandradamara also saw them.*
>
> *Shining in their formidable strength, these valiant men proceeded slowly and silently and approached the Yoginis. The leader of the Yoginis recognised the prince from a distance and sent him a cup of liquor with incantation and blessing. The king drank his fill; Chandra partook of what remained, and though pleased with it, he left a portion for the sake of Udayashri. They were pleased with the strange sights they saw. The Yoginis, who understood omens, thus said to the prince with clasped hands: "your kingdom will remain entire, and Chandra will enjoy a part of your wealth, and Udayashri, as long he lives, will be blessed with undying prosperity; but the groom bereft of our favour will be soon left bereft of life." Thus she foretold the future, and vanished with the other Yoginis, and then the life of the keeper of horses departed. Most of the Kashmiri historians agree with Jonaraja and say that the leader of the Yoginis was Lalla and she bestowed kingship and fame to Sultan Shihab-uddin.*

SULTAN SHIHAB-UDDIN (1355-1373)

"By looking at the present day condition of the Kashmiri nation, the military might of Sultan Shihab-uddin looks like a myth. It is a humiliating transition from conquest to cowardice, during the course of last six centuaries. The Kashmiris were never so powerful as a conquering nation, as during the reigns of Latitaditya Muktapida or Sultan Shihab-uddin. It is for these reasons that Alama Iqbal pays an eminently deserved tribute to the greatness of a great sovereign saying:

Umar i ma gul rakhat bar basat o kooshad,

Khak i ma deegar Shihab-uddin na zad.

Writing about Sultan Shihab-uddin, the contemporary historian, Jonaraja says that when he became king, the country ceased to remember the pleasures and afflictions of the time of Lallitaditya the Great. As the sky, after the departure of the different seasons, obtained the bright Sun in summer, so the earth passed under the rule of many kings, and obtained at least this sovereign. Adorned with pearls and necklace, this king was the most prominent among all kings, past and future, as the central jewel is prominent in a necklace.

The Persian chronicles of Kashmir, however, attribute to Sultan Shihab-uddin many other conquests. Legendary is the information that he conquered Pakhli and Swat and then defeated Jam of Sindh. Next he conquered Kabul, Qandhar,Herat, Badakshan and Khurasan, one by one. Then he subdued Gilgit, Baltistan Ladakh, Kishtwar and Jammu. However, it is a historical fact that he brought the entire region from Sirhind to Hindu-Kush under his suzerainty.

Shahab-uddin was an able administrator but his exaction of *baj* from his subjects and the regulation to serve the government for seven days a month without wages was a burden. He needed money for his exploits but refused the suggestion of his Hindu minister to meet the urgent need by melting the golden statues of deities. In order to strengthen the Sultanate, he organized his army on sound lines. For the Kashmiri soldiers, he built one thousand barracks. He made no distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects and followed a policy of tolerance towards all. When some of his Hindu officers showed rebellious tendencies, they were dismissed, but subsequently they were reinstated. He opened a number of schools to promote learning. Sultan Shihab-uddin's reign represents, from the political and military point of view, the most glorious epoch the Muslim Sultanate of Kashmir.

PATRON SAINT OF KASHMIR:

Between the 8th and 13th century. Central Asia, Iran and Arabia witnessed a mystic movement, known as Sufi order. During this very period, Shiavist philosophy was popular in Kashmir. After the 4th Buddhist Council, held in Kashmir during the reign of Kanishka, progressive Buddhism, in the shape of the Mahayana influenced Central Asia, Afghanistan, China and Korea.

Both these mystic movements aimed at the same thing; purification

of heart and attainment of bliss. The *Rishi Order* was a meeting ground of both the above movements and is indigenous to Kashmir. The standard bearer of this Order is the Patron Saint of Kashmir, Hazrat Nund Rishi alias Hazrat Sheikh Noor-uddin Noorani Kashmiri. Some call him Sahajanunda. His other names are: *Alamdar-i-Kashmir and Sheikh-ul-Alam.*

Hazrat Shiakh Noor-ud-Din Noorani, taught the philosophy of humanism. It meant fear of God, love of mankind, sympathy for the poor and service to the fellow human beings. He founded a philosophy, which is an admixture of the Sufi thought and the Shiava thought. This composite philosophy has been haul mark of the Kashmiri for centuries. This great Kashmiri Saint had a quest for peace and harmony and worked for it. His message was not confined to one race or one class but addressed to mankind as a whole. He belonged to the universe.

Hazrat Nunda Rishi was the creator of new humanistic thought and in this respect he was a Prophet of Secularism. He not only expressed the spiritual equality of man but preached and practised what was the best and the noble for human beings. His philosophy did not only teach spiritual equality of man but desired to extend it to economic and social life also. He desired every one to be a votary of the unity of man. He loved all and respected all faiths. In his teachings, he did not use the terminology of the particular faith. He is the symbol of harmony, brotherhood and secularism in the Valley.

Sultan Sikandar Shah did not treat his all subjects on equal terms. While he patronised his co-followers, he was harsh to the Kashmiri Pandits. Jonaraja says that during his reign, the *Yavanas* subverted the traditional usage of Kashmir like locusts destroying a paddy field. The aversion of Suha Bhatta, the chief minister for the Brahmana rituals and worship and the tutoring by the Mlecchas, aroused iconoclastic zeal in Sultan Sikandar Shah's mind. He took pleasure in breaking the images of the Hindu deities. Suha Bhatta exerted to affect the conversion of the Kashmiri Pandits to Islam but the Brahmanas declared that they would rather die than accept Islam.

Suha Bhatta's calumny of sedition against Shiakh Noor-uddin Noorani Kashmiri, probably rests on the charge that he took sides with the Kashmiri Pandits when they were subjected to persecutions and atrocities. It appeared that the Patron Saint of Kashmiri had raised his

voice against biogotary, and for this he was placed under house arrest.

SAYYID ALI HAMADANI :

Among the philosophers who played a great role in the history of the Muslim world during its period of stress and strife were the Sufis. Their spiritual movements, through outwardly against orthodoxy were in reality protests against arrogance, intolerance, egoism, greed and strife. One such great soul who stood against such "Timur Leng" was Sayyid Ali Hamadani, a great Sufi held in high esteem by the people of Kashmir. He not only transformed the 14th century caste-ridden Kashmiris into enlightened people but also gave them a sound economic, social, and spiritual base to stand as civilized people among the comity of nations. He used Islamic esoteric as means of human development. He was "a builder of a new nation; a master to the dervishes and a guide to the rulers; a teacher and a leader who brought a new civilization, new knowledge, new industries and a new faith for the Kashmiris."

Sayyid Ali Hamadani introduced recitations of *Aured* and *Zikr* in a loud voice. The Kashmiri Hindus, who used to recite aloud their *Bhajans*, daily came to see what practices were being performed by the Sufis. They felt attracted towards it after learning the meaning of these statutes. In this way hundreds of the non-Muslims joined his fold and the success of his mission can be judged by this fact that within a few weeks of his arrival, seven thousand Buddhists and Hindus embrassed Islam.

Sayyid Ali Hamadani imported 700 craftsmen from Iran and settled them in Kashmir. In this way, shawl-weaving, carpet making, silk-weaving and architecture was introduced in the valley of Kashmir. For stone carvers, who previously used the chisel Hindu deities, he introduced chisling of tomb stones, slabs and pillars. He himself earned from making of fur caps and directed his *Murids* to earn a living by skill. It is evident that Islam became popular in Kashmir as a mystic order. When the number of the brotherhood increased, the Sayyid deputed his chief disciples in groups to different parts of the valley. In this way, a net work of the Sufi brotherhoods was spread and these centers became the nucleus of missionary works for spreading Islam.

Sayyid Ali Hamadani prescribed a very high moral code for the Muslims and they had to serve as model to the other members of the society. He encouraged the study of Persian literature, so that Kashmiris

could get into contact with authors of Persia and central Asia. He also introduced some innovations in the dress of people, so as to make it refined and dignified. He asked Muslims to discard un-islamic practises and follow *Shara* in all matters.

SULTAN SIKANDAR SHAH (1393-1413):

Sikandar took the reins of government from the hands of his mother, directly in his own hands in the year 1393. He assumed the title of Sultan-al-Azam Sikandar Shah. During this very period, Timur set himself to the wholesale destructions of towns and villages. This self styled conqueror became "an insane negalomanic" and massacred hundreds of thousands of civilized men, women and children. He claimed with sustained hypocrisy to be the destroyer of the enemies of Islam but in actual practice he brought defame to the noble cause of Islam by his uncontrolled destruction of not only precious lives but also by looting the richest civilized centers in Syria, Persia and India.

Sultan Sikandar was fully aware of the exploits of Timur Leng. It goes to his credit to have saved Kashmir, from the destruction at the hands of Timur Leng.

He who wanted to save Kashmir from the *Mleccharaja*, as Jonaraja called him, deputed his envoys to Timer Leng. It was a great diplomatic move by the king of Kashmir. His envoys after paying homage to Timur Leng, informed him that the Sultan of Kashmir, has offered his allegiance to the king of the world. Hearing this, Timur Leng felt pleasure and sent a present of a horse and a dress for the king of Kashmir. Sultan Sikandar Shah was very powerful and his kingdom included the whole of the valley, and the adjoining regions of Rajauri, Poonch, Dras, Kargil, Zainskar, Ladakh, and Kishtawar.

THE YAVANAS:

An event of great significance according to Jonaraja, the contemporary historian, was the arrival of the *Yavanas* into Kashmir. He says:

> *"It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king had a fondness for the Yavanas, even as a boy has a fondness for mud. Many Yavanas left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king who was renowned for charity, even as bees leave the flowers and settle on elephants.*

As the wind destroys the trees and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usage of Kashmira. Attracted by the gifts and honors, which the king bestowed and by his kindness, the Mechhas entered Kashmira, even as locusts enter a good field of corn".

ARRIVAL OF HAMADANI:

Mir Mohammad Hamadani arrived in the kingdom of Sultan Sikandar Shah in the year 1394. He was accompanied with a few hundred Alavi and Baihaqi Sayyids. Jonaraja records this event of great significance in these words:

"As the bright moon is among stars so was Mohammada (Mir Mohammad Hamadani) of Mera country among these Yavanas. Although he was a boy, he became their chief by learning. The king (Sultan Sikandar Shah) waited on him daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Mohammada before him, and was attentive to him like a slave.

Mir Mohammad Hamadani exercised great influence on the mind of Sultan Sikandar Shah. Use of wine and other intoxicants was banned. Subsequently, more curbs were imposed on gambling, dance, music and prostitution. Mir Hamadani exerted the Sultan to impose the *Sharia* law on his subjects. Shah Bhatta, who served as chief minister and commander-in-chief abjured Hinduism and became a Muslim at the hands of Mir Mohammad Hamadani. His example was followed by the members of his family and his dependents. He was the most powerful noble among the Brahmanas of Kashmir and was much respected in the kingdom. In order to win favours of the king, a large number among the Kashmiri Pandits adopted Islam as their religion. Suha Bhatta, after his conversion to Islam was given the title of Saif-uddin. He gave his daughter Baraa in marriage to Mr. Mohammad Hamadani says Jonaraja:

"The kingdom of Kashmir was polluted by the evil practices of the Mlechchhas, and The Brahmanas, the Mantras, and the gods relinquished their power. Owing to the sin of the Kali Yuga, the merits of those who did virtuous acts were lost, and the gods deserted the images, even as serpents cast off their skins. Suhabhatta who disregarded

the acts enjoined by the Vedas, and was instructed by the Mlechchhas instigated the king to break down the images of gods. The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took a delight day and night, in breaking images.

It was the duty of the king to protect his subjects. He should have stopped Suha Bhatta, his chief minister from indulging in these unIslamic activities. As such, the Sultan is equally responsible for the religious persecution of his Hindu subjects.

BAD SHAH -THE GREAT KING (1420-1459):

Sultan Zain-ul-Abideen is popularly known as *Bad Shah* or Great king among the Kashmiris. Why he is called the great? In order to reply this valid question, we will quote from the *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja, because there is no better contemporary source than his great work.

"Brahma displays his mercy by hiding the Sun rise when the world is merged in darkness, by causing the advent of the spring when the joys of earth are destroyed by the cold wind of winter, and by sending a perfect and blameless king when the world is disturbed with fear by a wicked king. The sinless Shri Jainolla-bhadina, flushed with success, entered Kashmira like propitious Fate. This king entered the capital, but not before he had entered into the hearts of the people His wise policy was like the sugar in the juice of the sugarcane, and it removed the people's thirst for the good kings of old. The king revived the disregarded laws of previous kings, as the spring revives the plants destroyed by the winter. His prowess and his wise policy vied with each other in overcoming his enemies who were hard to subdue; and sometimes his prowess and sometimes his policy prevailed. Beauty dwelt in his person and the goddess of learning on his lips, Fortune rested in his breast and Patience in his mind; and when Fame saw this, she spread his reputation afar. The king's virtuous mode of government in the Kaliyuga became like the very middle of the Satyayuga.

The chief glory of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin's reign was, his policy of

tcleration towards his subjects.The monarch looked with equal eyes on all his subjects, Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim. His call for the return to Kashmir was welcomed by the Hindus who had left their country under duress and many of them returned. The monarch, who had gone through all the circumstances of life, placed Tilacharyya, the Buddhist, in the highest position. Shiva Bhatta, the chief justice and Simha, the astrologer, became the steps by which Brahmanas rose to high positions. A time came when the celebrated court of the monarch attracted men of merit from the Hindu subjects, like Karpura Bhatta, the physician Rupya Bhatta, the astrologer, and Swami Ramananda, the scientist.

All the harsh and precautionary measures of previous regime were cancelled. Thus the Hindus could now hold their festivals, apply *Tilak* on their foreheads, put on dress in accordance with their traditions and customs, educate their children as they liked. Not only, did he ban the cow-slaughter, the killing of birds and fish in several springs, sacred to the Hindus he got repaired several broken temples. It was his magnanimity that as a ruler professing Muslim faith, he got rebuilt the two temples of Martanda and Amarnatha.

Sultan Zain-ul abidin popularly known as *Sultan-al-Azam Bud Shah* or the great king in Kashmir is perhaps the most liberal Muslim ruler among all Muslims kings of India. Sultan Zain-ul-abidin extended great patronage to arts and crafts and this has immortalized his name. The king deputed artisans and craftsman to Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khurasan, for training in stone-work, glass-making, polishing of gems, paper-making, carpet-weaving, making of felt and rugs, and gold – smithy. As a result of all these efforts, the Sultan turned Kashmir into a smiling garden of industry. Besides the arts already mentioned, Kashmir made tremendous progress in glass blowing, woodcarving, bookbinding, papermaking and silk, shawl and carpet weaving. The art of manufacturing fire-works was also introduced in Kashmir by the king, who was himself conversant with fire-works

The king was fond of witnessing shows and plays by players and actors. He also would encourage acrobatics, festivities and fire-works. Some time illuminations were held under orders of the king on birthdays of the royal family. The king invited many actors and dancers, both male and female, to his country and extended his patronage to them. Special festivals were held for their performances. The king took

various measures to get barren lands cultivated by those who possessed no lands of their own. It was his idea that peace can only be attained if everyone possessed means of sustenance. As such he granted plots of land to low caste people for cultivation and living, so that they remain away from committing thefts. The king was just, kind and benevolent to his subjects.

SULTAN-AL-AZAM HASSAN SHAH (1472-1484):

It goes to the credit of Sultan Hassan Shah to revive the secular traditions of the benevolent reign of Sultan Bud Shah. The king, who knew all schools of philosophy, re-established the practices of his grandfather in the kingdom. He reiterated that he stood for full religious freedom for all his subjects and they were free to follow their ceremonies and rituals. The king made a good use of his wealth by building *Mathas.* Sultan Hassan Shah was the most cultured ruler of the Shahmiri dynasity after Sultan Zain-ul-abidin. The king was versed in Sanskrit but was fond of Vernacular songs. He could set his verses to music. With a sweet voice he sang many high tuned songs in Kashmiri, Persian, Hindi, and Sanskrit. The king patronised jesters, actors, musicians, dancers and poets.

ADVENT OF THE MIR:

Shuka in his Rajatarangini informs us that Mir Shamas-uddin, who was the pupil of Shah Qasim, and had been born in the country of *Iraka*, came to Kashmir during the reign of Fateh Shah (1487-1499). He further informs that this great scholar knew all the sciences and he became the *Guru* of Somachandra, without giving him religious instructions.

Mir Shamsh-uddin Iraki arrived in Kashmir for the second time in 1501. Baba Ali Najar not only received his allegiance alone but his *Mureeds* too. Later Malik Moosa Raina, one of the leading nobles of the time joined the Noorbakshiya Sufi order. His other compatriots, among the nobles were Sarhang Raina, Malik Saif Dar aligned with the Chak Clan. As the Baihaiqi Sayyids were egoistic and considered themselves superior to Kashmiri nobles, there existed enmity between the two factious.

Shuka, the contemporary historian makes a brief but important reference to the missionary activities of Mir Shamas-uddin Iraki, in

these words:

> *Merashesha, the pupil of Shah Kasima, was born in the country of Iraka. He knew all the sciences. He became Somachandra's Guru without giving him religious instructions. Surely the Brahmanas at this time did not do the duties of their castes, and Somachandra was the person to induce them to disregard the performance of their duties. According to Merashesha's advice, Somachandra arrested men belonging to temples, confiscated land of the Brahmanas and gave them to Merashesha's servants. Shuka and other followers of Merashesha cut down lofty trees in the temples compounds. The gods then deserted their images, for otherwise how could men plunder their temples.*

The above information by Shuka, reveals that the Hindu temples were plundered, the trees cut, temple lands confiscated, and the Brahmanas induced to disregard the performance of their duties, under the advice of Mir Shamas-uddin Iraki.

SULTAN MOHAMMAD SHAH (1516-1528):

In 1516, the fortunate Mohammad Shah being victorious felt greatly elated, and re-entered Kashmir with his foreign troops. Shuka Pandita son of Buddhyashraya, the only contemporary Kashmiri historian has immortalized Sultan Mohammad Shah in these beautiful verses:

> *Victory be to the great and the wise king, who is like Balarama renowned for the strength of his arm, the beautiful, the merciful and graceful as the letters of his name. Glorious on account of his powers, prosperous among his countrymen, possessor of extensive territory, his countenance is like the Sun, and who by the administration of justice raised the people of Kashmira, who had before been oppressed by injustice. Let victory always attend Mereja Haidhara Mohammada, who, like Nausharavana, is wise in speech, and who was born on earth to perpetuate the works of former kings which had for long time lain in a dilapidated condition at Satisara.*

HAIDAR MIRZA KASHGARI:

After having eliminated the powerful Chak nobles in about 1540, Haidar Mirza Kashgari made himself the *de-facto* ruler of Kashmir. Sultan Nazuk Shah was a ruler in name only. However, Haidar Mirza Kashgari hesitated to struck coins with his name but permitted the name of Sultan Nazuk Shah to be used for this purpose. Taking advantage of the rift among the Kashmiri nobles, Haider Mirza Kashgari did away with the nominal kingship and usurped all the powers of administration. In order to establish himself on the Kashmiri soil, he let lose a reign of terror on the Chaks.

Both the contemporary Muslim historians, the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Sayyid Ali have given a detailed account of the massacre of the Kashmir Muslims by Haidar Mirza Kashgari. We will quote from Sayyid Ali:

> *Mirza Haidar promulgated the doctrines of Ahal-Sunat-wal-Jamat (Sunni Sectarian Muslims); in all directions (of the country). He annihilated the Ahal-i-Rafza (Shia Sectarian Muslim) and disobedient people. He got burnt the Khanqah of Shamas Iraki. He also got dug out the skeleton of Mir Shamas-uddin Iraki from his grave and got built a latrine on it. He also ordered that one thousand logs be burnt on this grave every day. He also told the city people to use the site of this grave as a lavatory. He obliterated all signs of this grave. He got destroyed everything by fire.*

Later historians, have in their own way tried to find out explanations for this cold-blooded murder of Kashmir Muslims by Haidar Mirza Kashgari. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* tries to explain excessive fanaticism of Haidar Mirza Kashgari by stating that his religious bigotry, orthodoxy and intolerance were the main reason for this religious persecution. He writes:

> *Mirza Haidar raised the hand of persecutions from the sleeves of atrocities. Due to his inborn enmity, intense hatred with those who consider themselves as the lovers of Ahal-Bait-i-Rasool Allah and in the fold of Ali Wali Allah, he ordered destruction and derogating of the sa-*

cred Khanqah of Hazrat Amir Shamas-uddin. Further, he gave orders for shedding the blood of all those who were devoted to Islam and all those who were mystics. Not only he martyred Hazrat Rishi but also murdered Hazrat Sheikh Daniyal after keeping him in prison for one year. He also tortured him by different methods even stole away one thousand five hundred gold coins from him. When asked about such killings, Mirza Haidar in reply to Mulla Abdullah, said: we do it as a governmental policy to preserve the existence of our wealth and rule

Haidar Mirza Kashgari was zealot, who wanted to impose his type of the orthodox doctrines, with force on all Muslims. His extreme fanaticism made him blind to see good in others. For him, it was perfectly lawful to destroy those, who would not adhere to the *Fiqah* of Abu Hanifa.

Sayyid Ali who was in his service writes in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* that the Muslims started hating Haidar Mirza Kashgari due to the atrocities he committed against them. They became his enemies and rose against him in revolt. The condition deteriorated to such an extent that most of the Kashmiri people were externed from the districts. While under his orders the rest had to suffer unbearable torture, such as, cutting of noses, ears, hands and legs. A time came when every Kashmir noble, irrespective of his sect resented his religious bigotry. Malik Husain Magray and Khwaja Haji who belonged to Sunni Sectarian Islam became inimical towards Haidar Mirza Kashgari. They openly resented the persecutions of their co-religionists. According to the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* Haidar Mirza was killed by Kashmiri patriot Kamal Dioni, with a spear in 1550. The usurper had held Kashmiris to ransom for more than ten years.

SULTAN MOHAMMAD GAZI SHAH (1554-1563)

In the *Rajavalipitaka*, of Prajyabhatta and Shuka, Sultan Gazi Shah Chak has been described in these words:

"Let the great warrior, the victorious Gaja Shaha, the ornament of the world – he who had distressed the enemies, who had in battle, held the sword of death – the great leader, the life of the world, the giver of good to the humble, the accomplished, who looked graceful in the kingdom, the learning, the one versed in literature, and the benefactor of the people, be always triumphant."

According to another Kashmir historian, Malik Gazi Chak was the first man to wield the royal sceptre, among the Chaks, who ascended the throne of Kashmir by titling himself as Nasir-uddin Mohammad Gazi Shaha. It goes to his credit to have defeated the invading Mughal army, which had come with a large number of forces, to invade Kashmir. In this way, he not only defeated the invaders but also destroyed them with a vengeance, through his velour and bravery.

PADSHAH GAZI HUSAIN SHAH (1565-1570):

Shuka, the historian of the era describes accession of the new king in these beautiful sentences.

"When the king went to heaven, his brother Husain Shah accepted the kingdom, even as when the Moon goes down, the Sun rises on the eastern hill. After having taken possession of the kingdom, the king relieved the subjects from misgovernment, even as the cloud in summer quenches the fire of the forest. He attained prosperity by always attending to the complaints of the people, and by giving gift to everyone who asked for it. His fame spread a far. The king drank new wine, sported with women, and enjoyed pleasures, which even Indra did not enjoy in heaven. Prosperity, as if bound by his merits, did not go elsewhere but remained in his house; but fame finding prosperity so bound went afar, as if in fear. He had come to claim his ancestral property, but when he arrived at his house, his desires were fulfilled to such an extent that he did not claim the property he had come for. People always bowed their heads low at his lotus feet; they were now devoid of sorrow and they attained great prosperity."

On his accession, the new king introduced the rule of law, justice and benevolence in his kingdom. The people, who had suffered during the previous regime, proclaimed that he was the second *Nosherwan the Just.* The poets of the age, who saw his kind merciful acts, declared that he was *Khasroo Adil.*

The king Padshah Gazi Husain Shah enjoyed pleasures of life and participated in festivals and dancing parties. He had given good government to his subjects and relieved them from sufferings. His fame spread far and wide as a benevolent monarch. Shuka, who is the only contemporary historian of the period showers praises on the king and says that during his reign his subjects attained great prosperity. The people were so happy and pleased that they believed the kingdom of Kashmir was equal to heaven.

Padshah Gazi Husain Shah stands out as one of greatest kings of Kashmir. His rule of about seven years was exceptional in many respects. He was a benevolent monarch who worked for the prosperity, welfare and happiness of the people. He was a just ruler and his extreme generosity earned him the title of *Nausherwan-i-Adil*, after the great Sassnid Emperor of Persia

SULTAN MOHMMAD ALI PADSHAH GAZI (1570-1579)

On his accession to the throne in 1570 Mohammad Ali, assumed the title of Zahir-uddin Mohmmad Ali Padshah Gazi. His coronation ceremony was held in the famous Jamaia Masjid of the capital city. A special convocation of the elite included several prominent nobles, councsellors, royal family members, military commanders and the *Ulema*. Besides the above, thousands of citizen came to have glimpse of their king. When he sat on the throne, he delivered a speech in a loud voice. He impressed upon them to show loyalty to the ruler through their action and deeds. He told them that he would carry on administration of the kingdom with a sense of duty and on the basis of justice. While terming his subjects as his children, he declared that he would do, all what was possible to provide all facilities for their education, spritual and material development. For this purpose, he announced abolition of all undue taxes and levies imposed by the former rulers. He said that he will be kind to all his subjects and encourage artisans, teachers and soldiers. He emphasised that he aimed at removing the line of separation between the rulers and the ruled, for in his opinion, the rule belonged to Allah and this world was his kingdom.

Prajyabhatta and Shuka, in his *Rajatarangini,* describes the accession of the new king in these words:

"All the people became happy when Ali Shah received the Kingdom, even as the lotuses are when the Sun appears over the eastern hill. They saw the country of Kashmira. Well governed by the king and they were happy. They even slighted heaven, which had once been destroyed by the chief of the Daitayas. Wicked men disappeared when the king sat in judgement, even as owls do when the sun rises on the eastern hill.

Sultan Mohammad Ali Padshah Gazi was benevolent ruler, who loved his subjects and mixed with them during his morning and evening walks. During the years of famine, he distributed all his treasures among the famine strikes people. As a king, he was liberal in his outlook and ahead of times. At the outset of his reign, he abolished brutal punishments, like gorging out of eyes, mutilation of body, cutting of noses, ears and hands and roasting of the criminals. He administered justice in consultation with his counselors. He was non-communal and non - sectarian in religious matters. His Pandits subjects carried on their respective professions without any interference. They were free to perform their rituals as in the past. According to the contemporary Pandits historians, Purujyabhatta and Shuka, the country of Kashmir was well governed by the king, who was king to his people. He was a just ruler, who would try his best to ascertain the truth, with the consultations with his councillors. Though being a Shia Muslim, he never behaved as a sectarian towards his Sunni Muslim subjects. He respected saints and seers of all sects in Islam. He would visits tombs and shrines regularly and practised meditation there. He would participate in congregational prayers at the Jamia Masjid, on every Friday.It was a glorious period in the Shia-Sunni relationship in Kashmir that during the Chak peirod and especially during the reign of Sultan Hussain Shah and Sultan Ali Shah both the Sunni Muslims and the Shia Muslims offered their prayers jointly in the mosque.

Sultan Mohammad Ali Padshah Gazi was compassionate and kind to his subjects. He abolished the system of *Begar* or forced labour, which was prevalent earlier and relieved the agricultural class from oppressive exactions. Having learnt that the boat people were bound to offer a week of free service to the king, he ordered its discontinuance in the interest of equitable justice. The Sultan was most interested in learning and would meet scholars and learned people on a fixed day in every

week.

SULTAN MOHAMMAD YUSUF SHAH GHAZI —1579-1586

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Ghazi was a gifted ruler with qualities of head and heart. Baba Dawood Khaki in his *Qasida Gusliya Yusuf Shahi* describes the king as a famous monarch, embodiment of kindness and generosity, the patron of scholars and a great friend of the pious and the saints. It appears that he had several wives besides the queen Habba Khatoon. As a crown prince he had married a princess from Kishtwar. The Emperor Akbar had also bestowed two mistresses on him during his stay at Fatehpur Sikri. From his third wife, a daughter of him was given in marriage to the grandson of Sayyid Mubarak. Lastly, he had married Habba Khatoon. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, writes that Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was gifted with a beautiful face and a graceful body. He was well educated and knew well, besides Kashmiri, other languages like Hindi and Persian. He not only quoted other auothers, but could himself compose verses in Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian. He was lover of music and had invited poets and musicians from Hindustan to his court

GLORIOUS REIGN

Prajyabhatta and Shuka speak very high about the glorious reign of Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah. In these words:

> *King Yosobha ruled the country, even as the Sun rules the lotuses when darkness departs. When the king began to rule the country, Indra sent rain in due measure, the breezes that gave pleasure to all blew, and the Sun god shone in person. His fame spread over the world, but his prosperity stayed in his house bound by his merits, and did not stray any where else. The king had many good qualities, but his only fault was that he sheltered prosperity, which was fickle, in his house, and sent out fame which was steady. The Moon is well known to be a foe of the meritorious, and how could he equal the king who was a friend to worthy men?*

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Chak made every effort to rule the kingdom on the basis of justice and fair play. He also worked hard for the welfare of his subjects, irrespective of cast or creed. He was a secular minded king who abolished the much hated *Jizia* tax, which had been imposed on the Hindu subjects. The king also terminated most of the taxes and exactions, which had been made current by the previous kings. As killing of cows hurts the sentiments of the Hindus, the king issued a *Farman,* which banned cow slaughter. As a lover of nature, he issued orders prohibiting cutting of forest trees. He gave orders to his army to remain in discipline and refrain from indulging in unlawful acts.

THE MUGHAL IMPERIALISM:

The Mughals, right from their advent in India, followed a policy of dominating other lands and people. It was Babar, a descendent of Chenghiz Khan, who invaded India and founded the Mughal dynasty. Akbar, the third in the line of the Mughal kings, consolidated his empire by extensive conquests towards the east and west of Delhi. It was a period when small principalities in Rajasthan, Deccan and Bengal lost their independent existence and were assimilated in the Mughal Empire.

In 1585, the Mughal army consisting of over fifty thousand horsemen, fully armed invaded Kashmir from Attok, under Bhagwan Das son of Raja Maan Singh. According to the Mughal historians, Shiakh Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak assisted the Mughal army, as guides to during this invasion. But the Moghul invaders suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Kashmiris. As such, the Mughal resorted to treachery and invited Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah for talks with the Mughal Emperor Akbar. But after a clear breach of trust the Kashmiri king was imprisoned and later banished to Bihar. After this the Mughals invaded Kashmir and occupied it

Prajyabhatta and Shuka describe the final assault in these words:

> *As a great mass of dust is driven away by the slightest wind, even so the Kashmirian troops were driven away by those of the Mughulas. The former fled, and the latter become victorious; and the women who had husbands and children raised loud lamentations when they heard of this news. They had lived like lotus plants, their hands had trembled like lotuses, and water lilies under the black bees. Then when the calamity came in like darkness, the*

eyes brightened, like the blue water lilies, but the lotus like faces shrank. Tear drops fell on the breasts of these women, as if to quench the fire that was burning within their heart. The soldiers entered the city on Sunday, the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of Karttika, in the Shaka year 1509. The city was full of grapes and walnuts, and was adorned with flowers and saffron, and the Yavanas who entered it fully confessed that it was like heaven.

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was one among the great rulers of Kashmir. He offered the *NImaz* regularly and some times, even acted as the Imam of the congregation. After each *NImaz*, he would recite the verses from the Holy Quran. He was a poet and could compose verses in Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit. He was well versed in grammar and the art of writing. Himself a caligrapher, he wrote quotations from the scholarly treatises of Persian and Arabic. He loved music and even composed new tunes. Baba Dawood Khaki, the chief disciple of Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdoomi, wrote his famous, *Qasida Gusliya Yusuf Shahi* in about 1580. His dedication reads as under:

Presented with gratitude to the Sultan of the era; the brave Padshah, magnanimous and fortunate; the lover of knowledge and scholars; pious and virtueous; Naseer-uddin Mohammad Yusuf Shah Gazi.

Baba Dawood Khaki showers praises on the good qualities of Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Gazi in these verses:

"Yusuf Shah is the famous king who is the rightful claimant to the throne, the country and the wealth. He is basically created beautiful, in person as well as nature. He loves the noble Prophet and his family and his companions. Due to these qualities, he is a true follower of the religion of Islam. He is a seeker of knowledge and makes enquiries from the Ulema about Shara Tafseer and Hadis. He even leads prayers congregations as the Imam and recites shorter and longer verses of the Holy Qura). He is compiling poems and verses. He is very much interested in mysticism and wishes to learn the secrets of Tasawuf. He has full knowledge of lexicon and other arts and crafts,

like calligraphy and music, in which he has invented several tunes like Husaini and Gazal. The Qazis and the Muftis acknowledge, his great sense of justice because he never tolerates injustice to his subjects. As such, all people- urban and rural appreciate his sense of mercy and compassion. He is anxious about the education of his subjects for which he has established schools in cities, towards and villages. The people of Hindustan feel bewildered at his horsemanship.

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15. Sayyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmr,* trans, Ghulam Rasool Bhatt, 1994.
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15.

SULTAN YUSUF SHAH CHAK:

Mohammad Yusuf Shah's first accession to the throne in 1579 had not augered well for him due to the war of succession between him and his uncle Abdal Chak. It was Sayyid Mubarak, who helped him to defeat and eliminate Abdal Chak in the battlefield of Nawhatta. The Sultan had remained in authority only for two months, when Abdal Bhat, a Kashmiri noble rose in revolt against him. The histories written during the Mughal period or sponsored by them give the cause of such uprisings against the Sultan due to his neglect of administration and wasting of his time in the society of women and singers. One of the historians, Malik Haidar of Chadoora even paints the Sultan as a miser person However,.the real fact is that the sudden death of Sultan Ali Shah resulted in raising the question of a future ruler, and numerous claimants to the throne. Further, the internal crisis in the royal house was aggrivated by the manipulations of the Kashmiri nobles, particularly Abdal Bhatt and others. The rise and fall of Sayyid Mubarak was, in fact, the ugly outcome of political maneuvers by the greedy nobles. Even placing of Lohar Chak on the throne of Kashmir was a political maneuver of Abdal Bhatt, who wanted to rule himself in the name of a nominal king.

YUSUF AND AKBAR:

The accession of Lohar Shah to the throne of Kashmir caused much agony and pain in the heart of Mohammad Yusuf Shah. The insincerity of the Kashmiri nobles created a sort of mental gloom in his mind. While staying at Rajouri, on the borders of Kashmir, he had dreamt of being invited but now, all his hopes seemed dashed to the ground. Feeling helpless and uncomfortable, he thought of obtaining aid from a powerful master and that could be none other than the Mughul Emperor Akbar Padshah. He was advised by the nephews of Sayyid Mubarak to seek this help. It was under these circumstances that he along with his retinue Reached Fatehpur Sikri and presented himself before the Akbar. The deposed king, Mohammad Yusuf Shah, remained in the court of the Mughal Emperor for about one year petitioning for help but Akbar diplomatically avoided answering in affirmative. He only agreed to consider the request at some other time in future[2]. The Kashmiri fugitive was treated with all courtesy as a royal guest. The Mughal Emperor exhibited royal favor on the royal guest, by offering two mistresses to him as well as nominated Mirza Yusuf Khan and Raja Maan Singh for supporting Yusuf Shah in gaining the throne of Kashmir[3]. In the meanwhile, the fugitive king received information that many a Kashmiris, having felt disillusioned about the rule of Sultan Lohar Shah Chak, had fled away from Kashmir to join the camp of the ex-king Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Chak. He also heard the news about the Kashmiri nobles, especially Shamas Chak and Alam Sher Khan, who had left Kashmir to support him. Being impatient his family members and his sons, he proceeds towards Bahloolu

LAHORE:

Mohammad Yusuf Shah Chak, reached Lahore in the company of Mirza Yusuf Khan and Raja Mann Singh, but he had been given a very small force, Mughal force. Hearing this news about the Mughal support to Mohammad Yusuf Shah, the Kashmiri nobles felt perturbed; lest the Mughal would pursue theirs own secret agenda of enslaving Kashmir. The most prominent among the Kashmiri nobles, Abdal Bhatt lost no time, in dispatching secret letters to the ex-king, informing him about their fears regarding selfish intentions of the Mughal Emperor. At the same time, Abdal Bhat cautioned the ex-king to be very careful about the Mughal soldiers, which in the garb of helping him, may occupy Kashmir. The ex-king, after receiving such advice from his former Chief Minister became alert and decided to mistrust the Mughal emissaries, Mirza Yusuf Khan and Raja Maan Singh. He decided to part with them in secret. At Lahore, he borrowed a huge sum of money from the merchants and raised a force of about 800 soldiers and marched to Bahloolpur to meet his supporting Kashmiri nobles and his sons[4]. In order to ascertain the situation in the kingdom, he deputed the crown prince Yaqoob to proceed towards Kashmir.

Now, the ex-king, Mohammad Yusuf Shah, felt convinced that the Mughal Emperor, Akbar was not sincere in helping him, rather it was only a stratagem to accompany with him to Kashmir and then occupy it. He felt that it would be better for him to stand on his own legs and fight for his rights himself. He had received secret messages from the Kashmiri nobles, requesting him to refuse help from the Mughals and reached Kashmir, where everyone was ready to welcome him. As such, the ex-king deserted the Mughals and proceeded towards Kashmir to fight for his rights. Then, having left his family and children, in the fort in Poonch and himself reached the mountains in Rajouri. Hearing the news, the Mughal Emperor, Akbar became very angry and passed critical remarks about Raja Maan Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had been careless in handling the situation.[5]

MARCH TOWARDS KASHMIR:

At the time of his march towards Kashmir, the ex-king Mohammad Yusuf Shah was joined by several Kashmir nobles. With the arrival of a thousand soldiers, brought by his former Chief Minister, Mohammad Bhatt, the royal forces rose to about four thousand cavalry and two thousand soldiers. Now, he was in a position to fight his rival in Kashmir. But Sultan Lohar Shah Chak and his chief Wazir made ample defence preprations to meet the invasion. At the outset, it was decided to fortify the Hirapur pass, which was considered as the gate-way to the valley, on the Pir Panchal Mountains. In order to ensure full defence of this pass, a contingent of soldiers was deputed to this pass under the command of Yusuf Khan Son of Hussain Shah. But this contingent of soldiers, sent to fight against the ex-king, deserted its defensive posts and hurried to join the ranks of Mohammad Yusuf Shah. Subsequently, the two prominent Kashmiri nobles, Mir Hassan Chadoora and Shamas Dooni also deserted along with their troops, to join Mohammad Yusuf Shah. After this, every day and night the soldiers from the cavalery and artillery fled away from their positions and joined with the invading forces. Despite this setback, Abdal Bhatt, made all preparations to give a stiff resistance to the invading forces. He sealed off all passes leading into the valley. Breaking all promise, he had made earlier to welcome Mohammad Yusuf Shah, he stationed himself with a large force at Hirapora to confront the ex-king with all his might. As a pre-cautionary move, he deputed an advance regiment of soldiers, under his two seasoned commanders, Yusuf and Hussain to Naushera to intercept the

invading forces of Mohammad Yusuf Shah. But these two commandos also hurried to rally under the banner of the ex-king[7]

MOVES AND COUNTERMOVES:

Before taking the final assault, the ex-king, Mohammad Yusuf Shah decided to win the sympathy of the most influential and eldest noble of Kashmir, Sayyid Mubarak, who had been kept under house-arrest by Lohar Shah Chak. He knew that Abdal Bhatt was not only clever but deceitful also and he could win over the moral support of Sayyid Mubarak in his favour by tricks and flattery. As a diplomatic move, he sent a letter to Sayyid Mubarak which reads as under:

> *"In order to strengthen his position and to fulfill his self-ish aims Abdal Bhatt will solicit your honor's moral sup-port. It is hoped that your honor will not oblige him by granting such a protection to him. I have left the results of my efforts in the hands of God believing that your honor's blessings are with me. I believe that all the ad-ventures of Abdal Bhatt are bound to fail, for they are not covered under your honor's blessings."*

This pleasing message of Mohammad Yusuf Shah was heard with great attention by the Sayyid who expressed his willingness to consider it with favor. He also reciprocated the feelings of love with love by expressing his approval to the efforts of the ex-king to regain his throne. The blessings and encouragement of Sayyid Mubarak, were received by the ex-king with joy. He started his onward march towards Kashmir with vigor. Instead of Hirapur pass, he marched the Cherahar pass, defeating the guards stationed their by Lohar Shah Chak. In this way he was able to conquer Sopor and its adjoining region. Prajyabhatta and Shuka in their *Rajatarangini* describe the advent of ex-king in these words.

> *"Now king Yosobha returned to Kashmira after a year. He took shelter in the village Suyyapora, as the sun takes his rest on the eastern hill. This village was difficult of access owing to the water of Vitasta.King Lahvara then issued out of the city, accompanied by many men, even as a lion issues out of the cavern of a mountain."*[9]

BATTLE OF SOPOR:

Having strengthened his base at Sopor, ex-king Mohammad Yusuf Shah made another diplomatic move by sending a message to Abdal Bhatt to fulfill his pledges and promises made by him and present himself before him and cooperate in the task of re-occupying the throne of Kashmir

Now, Abdal Bhatt played another trick by releasing Sayyid Mubarak and Ali Chak from house arrest. By taking this step, he aimed at winning the sympathies of Sayyid Mubarak, who held much respect among the nobility due to his old age and services to the kingdom of Kashmir. But, Sayyid Mubarak, who knew Abdal Bhatt, as a deceitful cheat, preferred to remain quite and engaged himself in meditation and prayers. Now, the king Lohar Shah Chak and his cunning Wazir, Abdal Bhatt thought off and conceived another plan to demoralize the ex-king Mohammad Yusuf Shah. They encouraged Ali Chak to make a claim to the throne and come to the forefront to oppose Mohammad Yusuf Shah. Now, all the three, Lohar Shah Chak, Abdal Bhatt and Ali Chak joined hands to give a fight to Mohammad Yusuf Shah[11]. Now, Lohar Shah Chak decided to fight with all his might and with the support of Abdal Bhat and Ali Chak. Even, Yaqub, the son of Mohammad Yusuf Shah was incited to adopt a hostile attitude towards his father by joining the camp of Lohar Shah Chak. Abdal Bhatt, with a force, fully equipped with arms, marched towards Sopor. This village was difficult to access owing to the water of the Vistasta. The king, Lohar Chak, also marched from the capital city, accompanied by his army. Haidar Chak knew that Sopor was difficult of access due to the water of the Vitasta; he therefore marched against Mohammad Yusuf Shah by another road.[12]

MESSAGE

Abdal Bhat, like a cunning fox, played another trick, by asking Baba Khalil to convey the following message to Mohammad Yusuf Shah:

"This humble servant of yours submits that it was late lamented Sultan Ali Shah, who having raised me from dust, elevated me to a status of magnanimity. As such, it is incumbent upon me to reveal the nefarious designs of mischief-mongers to create anarchy in the kingdom. I must most humbly report that some of the Kashmiri nobles and commanders have conspired to desert your Lordship in the battlefield. Accordingly Lohar Shah Chak has decided to cross the river, along with his troops, while Haidar Chak, along with his two thousand soldiers has been dictated to launch an attack upon your honor from the rear. As such, this humble servant of yours, advices your excellency to hasten towards Poonch, failing which the enemy is sure to make your honor, a prisoner."[13]

Abdal Bhatt had played the role of a cunning fox and a ferocious lion by sending the above message to the ex-king Mohammad Yusuf Shah. In the first place, he wanted to create suspicions in the mind of Mohammad Yusuf Shah about the insincerity of the Kashmiri nobles. Secondly, he wanted to over awe, his adversary with his superior might. Thirdly, he wished to create fear in the mind of Mohammad Yusuf Shah, so as to induce him to flee away from Sopor and take refuge in Poonch. But to his dismay the ex-king Mohammad Yusuf Shah, who was well aware with crooked brain of Abdal Bhatt, informed his adversary that fate of the brave is to the will of god in the battlefield.

Mohammad Yusuf Shah, after discussions with his commanders, drew a plan of military offensive against Lohar Shah Chak. He arranged his forces into three segments, while posting four soldiers on the left; he posted the artillery on the right. Mounting on a horse, he crossed over the water of Vitasta and lead a fierce attack on the forces of Lahor Chak. Now, Abdal Bhatt appeared in front of Mohammad Yusuf Shah and fought a great battle, which struck terror to all living creature. But Mohammad Yusuf Shah threw his lance on this black cobra and he perished in this battle[14]. The death of Abdal Bhatt, created confusion in the royal army and every soldier tried to save his life by abandoning the battlefield. At this juncture, Mohammad Yusuf Shah and his valiant commanders Yusuf Khan, Hussain Khan, Shamas Chak, Mir Hassan, Alam Sher, Shamas Dooni, and Sayyid Saif lead a fierce attack like lions on the fleeing soldiers and cut them into pieces. They pierced the ring of soldiers, around Lohar Shah Chak, who fled away for life, abandoning the royal parasol in the battle field. Habib Khan son of Abdal Khan, whom Abdal Bhatt had imprisoned was found in the battle-field, chained in fetters. Mohammad Yusuf Shah, ordered that the fetters be opened and he be released. Then raising banner of victory the ex-king marched

in a procession towards the capital city. By his sheer courage, Mohammad Yusuf Shah had captured the throne for the second time[15].

VICTORY:

The victory of Mohammad Yusuf Shah caused confusion among the troops of Haidar Chak. He got demoralized and took shelter in the forest but the royal soldiers searched him out and in a fierce battle a stream of blood quenched the forest fire. Virtually like penury, Haidar Chak fled away towards the plains to seek help from the Mughal Emperor Akbar[16].

Inspite of the defeat of his enemies, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, had to face many problems. The former king, Lohar Shah Chak along with his commanders and soldiers, which numbered about five thousand, had gone into hiding in the capital city and surrounding villages. The king wanted to bring them to the bar of justice. Haidar Chak had also fled away, leaving his soldiers in the forests of Chirhar. But, it was necessary to find the Kashmiri nobles, who had supported Lohar Shah Chak and fought against Mohammad Yusuf Shah Chak. The new chief Wazir, Mohammad Bhatt, who was loyal to him suggested search of the rebels and their leaders, who were hiding in the kingdom. The king having agreed to the wise suggestion of the Chief Wazir, a vigorous search began to hunt out the rebel leaders and their associates. For this, spies were pressed into service to seek the culprits. The first task was to find out the fugitive king Lohar Shah Chak and he was found hiding in the house of Qazi Moosa. Keeping in view the high status of the royal fugitive and the Qazi, the king ordered his two nobles to enter the house. Having located the former king, Lohar Shah Chak was brought before Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah. His brother Mohammad Chak was found hiding in the house of Miran Sayyid Barkhordar and was brought in presence of the king. Hasi Chak, another Kashmiri noble, who always boasted of his valor, was located in the barn of Jamshi Basu. He was also located and presented before the king. Baccha Ghannai, who was the chief instigator of the rebels was dragged out of the house of Yusuf Khan and brought for trial by the king. The other ringleaders as well as soldiers who had take shelter in the villages were searched out and brought for trial.

TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT:

Temperamentally, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Chak believed in the principles of justice and fair-play. He was a benevolent monarch, who could forgive and forget but he also wished to punish those who were responsible for creating chaos and fomenting bloodshed in the kingdom. When the chief culprits and rebels were brought before him, he charged them on four counts and asked them to defend themselves. The king enumerated their crimes against the kingdom one by one, along with proofs as enumerated below:

1. Having left the path of peace and reconciliation by taking the path of animosity and enmity, you became disloyal to me. After deserting your king, you joined hands with Sayyid Mubarak Shah in raising the banner of confusion and chaos; you were responsible for involving him in various kinds of suffering[17].
2. Despite the fact that reverend Sayyid had been your benefactor, you indulged in acts of creating divisions and hatred. Having invited me from Barthal to grace the throne, you went back from your promises and instead aligned yourself with Lohar Shah elevating him to the status of king[18].
3. At the time, when I wished to conquer the Kingdom of Kashmir, you deceived me by writing insincere letters, holding out promises of support and entreating upon me to send back the imperial forces. Having left the imperial support, when I reached this land, you forgot your promises and arranged troops to fight against me[19].
4. Through his magnanimity and generosity, my reverend father, the late king had raised you to the heights of eminence from the depths of lowliness[20]. I had also extended the same liberal treatment to you by making additional generosity, but you exhibited ingratitude by taking the path of disobedience and enmity against me. Thus, you have willfully transgressed the *Shariat-i-Mohmmadi* and willfully left the *Milat-i-Hanfi*, and thus not acted in accordance with the Quranic injuction:

   "Obey God, obey his messenger and those who command authority among you. Thus by your wrong action you have joined the group of rebels and mischief mongers. Therefore your blood and your property is forfeited to the kingdom in law[21]."

After hearing these charges, the rebels lost balance of mind. Baccha Ghanai who was a ringleaders of the trouble-creators, talked non-sense and uttered in discreet remarks in the royal court but the king exhibited high degree of self control. The chief conspirator Abdal Bhatt felt bewildered and could say nothing in his defense. The other conspirators felt ashamed and tights-lipped. Then the king ordered sparing lives of Lohar Shah, the ex-king, his brother Mohammad Khan and Hassi Chak but depriving them of their eye-sight so as to make them unfit to claim kingship. Bachha Ghanai, Fateh Khan Jando, Hussain Koka were ordered to be punished for their crimes with amputation of their limbs. The other culprit like Yusuf Lundo Ali Khan of Srigama and Ali Bhatt were ordered to pay indemnity. He also did not order killings of the other rebels like Ali Khan, Nauroz Chak and Yusuf Khan, but instead put them in prison. The king was gracious enough to grant general amnesty to the soldiers and villagers, who had participated in the war against him. Instead of punishing them, he took pity on them by reinstating them to their lands and *Jagirs*[21].

RECONCIALATION

The king exhibited a great sense of magnanimity in dealing with Sayyid Mubarak, who had even captured the throne of Kashmir, for a short period. He felt that circumstances and intrigues of enemies had forced Sayyid Mubarak to stand against him. Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, himself called upon Sayyid Mubarak, and sought his advice in the affairs of the government. He even entered into a matrimonial alliance with him by giving his daughter in marriage to the grandson of the Sayyid. In order to strengthen his rule, he developed cordial relations with the sons of Sayyid Mubarak. For this purpose, the king would often visit the Sayyid's house or occasionally invite him to his palace.

GIFTED RULER

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was a gifted ruler with qualities of head and heart. Hazrat Baba Dawood Khaki in his *Qasida GuShia Yusuf Shahi* describes the king as a famous monarch, embodiment of kindness and generosity, the patron of scholars and a great friend of the pious and the saints[23].

It appears that he had several wives besides the queen Habba Khatoon. As a crown prince he had married a princess from Kishtwar.

The Emperor Akbar had also bestowed a two mistresses on him during his stay at Fatehpur Sikri. From his third wife, a daughter of him was given in marriage to the grandson of Sayyid Mubarak. Lastly, he had married Habba Khatoon. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, writes that sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was gifted with a beautiful face and a graceful body. He was well educated and knew well, besides Kashmiri, other languages like Hindi and Persian. He not only quoted other anothers, but could himself compose verses in Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian. He was lover of music and had invited poets and musicians from Hindustan to his court. Whenever, he amused himself in luxurious meetings of fun and frolic, he would recite:

> *Enjoy yourself because in a twinkle of an eye, the spring will go paving a way for the autumn*[24].

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah started his rule as a benevolent monarch. He bestowed the post of Chief Minister on Mohammad Bhatt.

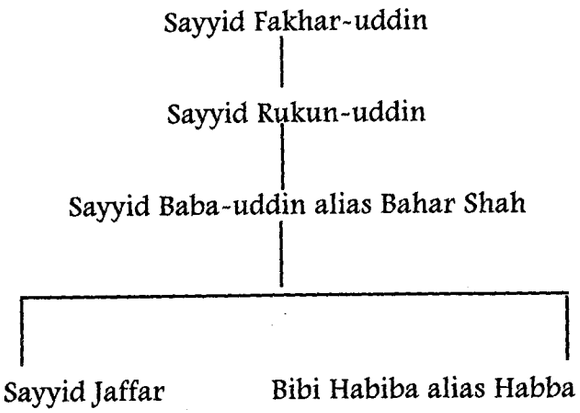
> *"The king ruled the country as the Sun rules the lotuses when darkness departs. When the king began to rule the country, Indra sent rain in due measure, the breezes that gave pleasure to all blew, and the Sun-god shone in person. His fame spread all over the world, but his prosperity stayed in his house bound by his merits, and did not stray any where else*[25]*."*

QUEEN HABBA KHATOON:

Ali Shah ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1571 under the title of Sultan Zahi-uddin Mohammad Ali Ghazi. In 1573, the king dispatched his forces for subjugation of the kingdom of Kishtwar. Its ruler, Raja Bahadur Singh surrendered and acknowledged Sultan Mohammad Ali Padshah Ghazi as his suzerain and agreed to pay tribute. In token of his obedience he presented his sister Shankar Devi for marriage with the king's grandson, Prince Mohammad Yakub. In 1573, another expedition was undertaken against the Raja of Kishtwar, who again surrendered and as a token of his obedience, sent his own daughter for marriage with the king of Kashmir. At the time of marriage, she was given the title of Fateh Khatoon. Sultan Zahir-uddin Mohammad Ali Padshah Ghazi passed away in 1579, and was succeeded by Yusuf Padshah Ghazi. Before his ascension, the prince had married twice. From his first mar-

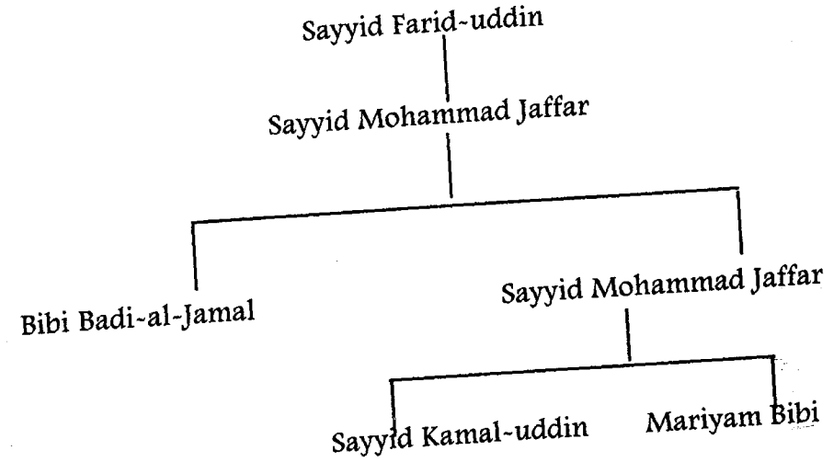
riage in 1547, he had two sons, namely Yakub and Ibrahim[26]. After the death of his first wife, he absorbed himself in music and poetics. It was during these gloomy days that he came into contact with a highly cultured, Habiba, who was from Sayyid Kamal-uddin.

Bibi Habiba alias Habba Khatoon belonged to a very respectable family of the Sayyids. Her family chart has been traced by a Kashmiri scholar, which is reproduced below for our readers:



Sayyid Fakhar-uddin and his brother, Sayyid Farid-uddin arrived in Kashmir in about 1364 and settled in Jamalata, a part of the capital city Shahr. They had come from Khwarazm in the company of Mir Sayyid Haidar al-Kubravi. Sayyid Fakhar-uddin is spoken off as an eminent disciple of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, who made the village of Avantipura, a centre of his missionary activities. He was assisted in his work by his son Sayyid Rukun-uddin. Both of them were well known for their knowledge and piety. The date of Sayyid Fukhar-uddin's demise is not known but he was buried at Niva, Charath, Pulwama, Kashmir[27].

Sayyid Farid-uddin, who was weak in health, settled in the capital city in Jamalata Mohalla in Shahr. His family chart is given below:



BIRTH AND EDUCATION:

Mulla Mohammad Hussain alias Husam-uddin writes in his work entitled Gulistan-i-Kashmir that both the Sayyid families at Niva and Jamalata, in their third generation entered into a matrimonial alliance.

Badi-al-Jamal was married to her cousin, Sayyid Baha-uddin alias Sayyid Bhar Shah. To them was born a daughter, Bibi Habiba, who was destined to become the queen of Kashmir. At the time of her second marriage, she was titled as Habba Khatoon by prince, Yusuf Shah[28].

It is interesting to note that the Queen Habba Khatoon informs us about her lineage in these verses[29].

Molis nav chum Sayyid-al-Bahroo
Maje nav chum Badr-al-Jamal
Sayyid kor chess por kamaloo
Wathoo lalo niendariyai
Maliin mein arbaab ase
Tohai duram Habba Khatoon nav

My father's name is Sayyid-al-Bahar;
My mother's name is Badr-al-Jamal.
I am a Sayyid girl full of virtues.

Awake! O beloved from thy sleep.

My parents held position of authority.

Hence, my name was fixed as Habba Khatoon.

At the time of her birth, her parents named her as Habiba, which was later on changed by the Sultan at the time of his marriage with her. In fact, it was a title bestowed on her by the prince, and Habba Khatoon, means the *Beloved Lady.*

Soon after the birth of Bibi Habiba, her mother Badr-al-Jamal passed away. As such, she remained in custody of her nurse, who was the wife of *Kokaltash,* Abdi Rather of Chandahar. She learnt recitation of the Holy Quran from the *Mulla* of a local mosque. After that she learnt Persian language and read *Gulistan* and *Bostan,* the famous works of Shiakh Saadi. She also got interested in the Sufi practices of *Fikr* and *Zikr.* A time came when she attained the status of an arifa in the Sufi hierarchy[30].

She started composing poems in Kashmiri, Shina and Persian. God had bestowed her with a great voice and she sang *Naat-i-Sharif* and songs. Her guardians also put her under an *Ustad* of music, who taught her various *Muqams* and *Rags.*

FIRST MARRIAGE:

When grown up, she was married with her cousin, Sayyid Kamaluddin, who lived in Jamalata Shahr. This was an arranged alliance made by the elders to unite the two families. Temperamentally both the groom and the bride were totally opposed to each other. Sayyid Kamal-uddin was not highly educated in comparison to Habiba. He was a staunch follower of the *Shariyat* and the *Sunna,* and wanted to live strictly according to the law. In other words, he was primitive and orthodox. Bibi Habiba, on the other hand was emotionally and intellectually very high than her husband. Temperamentally, she was a liberal Muslim brought up under kind, humane and compassionate culture of the Sufis.

The net result was that the marriage between Habiba and Sayyid Kamal-uddin proved a failure. Both started disliking each other. Now, a

third person came in between their lives and she was no other person, than Mariam Bibi, the sister of Sayyid Kamal-uddin. Like her brother, she was both communal and orthodox and would not tolerate a Muslim lady interested in poetics and music. Both the ladies started quarreling with each other, thus adding more fuel to the fire. Ultimately, Habibi obtained divorce from her husband and came back to the home of her guardian in Niva Charath, Pulwama, ' Kashmir[31].

SECOND MARRIAGE OF BIBI HABIBA:

Prince Mohammad Yusuf had heard about the tragic life of Habiba, who was known to the people as a great poet, an accomplished singer and an accredited mystic. His emissaries arranged his first meeting with her. It was a love at first sight for the lonely prince, who felt impressed by her wit and wisdom. Her good looks, sweet voice and charming personality made him a captive of Habiba, and he at once decided to marry her. As she had captivated his heart, he gave her the name of Habba Khatoon or the Lady Love. After marriage, she gave birth to a son, who was named Haidar by the prince[32]. When Mohammad Yusuf Padshah Ghazi ascended the throne of Kashmiri from the second time in1579, Habba Khaton became the queen.

GLORIOUS REIGN:

Prajyabhatta and Shuka in his *Rajatarangini* speaks very high about the glorious reign of Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah. He writes:

King Yosobha ruled the country, even as the sun rules the lotuses when darkness departs. When the king began to rule the country, Indra sent rain in due measure, the breezes that gave pleasure to all blew, and the sun god shone in person. His fame spread over the world, but his prosperity stayed in his house bound by his merits, and did not stray any where else. The king had many good qualities, but his only fault was that he sheltered prosperity, which was fickle, in his house, and sent out fame which was steady. The moon is well known to be a foe of the meritorious, and how could he equal the king who was a friend to worthy men?[33].

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Chak made every effort to rule the

kingdom on the basis of justice and fair play. He also worked hard for the welfare of his subjects, irrespective of cast or creed. He was a secular minded king who abolished the much hated Jizia tax, which had been imposed on the Hindu subjects. The king also terminated most of the taxes and exactions, which had been made current by the previous kings. As killing of cows hurts the sentiments of the Hindus, the king issued a *Farman,* which banned cow slaughter. As a lover of nature, he issued orders prohibiting cutting of forest trees. He gave orders to his army to remain in discipline and refrain from indulging in un- lawful acts[34].

REVOLTS AND CONSPIRACIES:

At the outset of his reign, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah administered justice to all his subjects, irrespective of cast, creed and color. He declared that everyone was equal before law. His progressive attitude in abolishing the tithes of the nobility and soldiers was disliked by the nobles and the upper classes. He also ordered that no unlawful acts on the subjects will be tolerated by him. He had terminated most of the innovations, which had been imposed by the previous rulers. Abolition of *Jizya* and prohibiting of cow slaughter did add fuel to the fire. The Kashmiri nobles again became restless and started their usual habit of hatching conspiracies and revolts. They were aware of the mischievous intentions of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar who wished to annex Kashmir by hook or crook. The Kashmiri nobility of the period knew that Akbar was there to patronize their acts and conspiracies. Among the chief conspirators, mention may be made of Haidar Chak, Shamshi Chak, Alam Sher Khan, Sayyid Khan, Mohammad Malik lang and Saif Khan out of them Haidar Chak had reached Akbar in_penuary at Fatehpur Sikri. He aimed at seeking military aid from Akbar against the king of Kashmir[35].

In the mean while, the king received secret reports about the nefarious activities of Shamas Chak, Alam Sher Khan, Sayyid Saif Khan and Mohammad Malik Lang. The king ordered their arrest and imprisonment. After a period of time, the king ordered release of Saif Khan and Mohammad Malik Lang but other two conspirators, namely Shamas Chak and Alam Sher Khan continued to languish in Jail. During that very period Habeeb Khan, fled away towards the mountains of Punjab,

so that he could coordinate activities of the rebels against Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah. After about three months, Haidar Chak, who had returned from Hindustan, joined him. Thus, they were able to incite Shamas Chak to raise the banner of rebellion from the fort of Bulur against the king. But the royal troops laid a siege to the fort and got him arrested. Shamas Chak was brought before the king in fetters. Despite being a near relation, the king refused to grant pardon in his favor. He being the ringleader of the rebels was ordered to be kept in jail[36].

HABEEB CHAK:

Soon after the imprisonment of Shamas Chak, the king had to face another revolt. During disturbances Yusuf Khan son of Ali Khan and Nauroz Chak, who had been kept under house arrest, managed to escape towards the mountains and join Habeeb Khan, the coordinator of the front against the Sultan. After some time a few other disgrunted Kashmiri nobles joined them. Now, all of them under the guidance of Habeeb Khan, Haidar Chak and Yusuf Khan deliberated over the means to destroy Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak. It was decided to approach the ruler of Baltistan for assistance. Its king Gazi Meer with his capital at Skardu had overpowered the Rajas of Ladakh, Shigar Purig and Khaploo. When the deputation of the Kashmiri nobles under Haidar Chak reached Skardu and sought help from the king, the Governor of Khaploo, Rae Mehraam, by the ordeders from the king, placed four to five thousand soldiers on horse back at his disposal, equipped with weapon and armor.

When Mohammad Yusuf Shah heard this news, he convened a council of his ministers, nobles and commanders for advice. Accordingly, he ordered that all combatants in the kingdom be equipped with weapons, so that they become able to face the invaders. The king also sent his troops to repulse the offensive. The news of the advancing royal troops caused great confusion among the mercenary horsemen of Habeeb Khan. Some of his troops raised the banner of sectarian hatred against their compatriots. Under such dismal situation, the Balti mercenary troops returned back to their country without giving any fight to the Kashmiri royal troops. Haidar Chak, after having suffered this reversal, fled away towards Kishtwar. Habeeb Khan found himself surrounded by the royal troops, hid himself along with some Kashmiri

nobles in the capital city. A massive search resulted in the capture of Habeeb Khan and his ten rebels from Sonawar. Yusuf Khan was also captured from Parang along with his brothers. All the rebel leaders were presented before the king for judgement[38].

The king admonished the rebels for creating turmoil in the kingdom. He told them that for those who ignite the fire of mischief, the appropriate punishment should be burning with fire. The king felt very angry towards Habeeb Khan and others. It was ordered to pluck out their eyes[39]. After this, Yusuf Khan, his brothers and relatives were brought for justice before the king, who ordered amputation of limbs in case of these rebels. After them Ali Khan son of Nauroz Chak was brought before the king. It was ordered that his eyes be plucked out, that he becomes unfit for any duties as an administrator.

MOHAMMAD BHATT:

Mohammad Bhatt was a very prominent Kashmiri noble, who had incited prince Yusuf Khan to revolt in 1572 against his father, Sultan Ali Shah. It was under his advice, that the prince had assassinated Aiba Khan, causing much grief and anger. However, reconciliation was brought about between the Sultan and the prince by Sayyid Mubarak. After this, Mohammad Bhatt was put into prison, for his ugly activities. Later, after Ali Shah's death, he was released. When Abdal Chak came forward to contest the throne Sayyid Mubarak and Mohammad Bhatt, supported the claim of Mohammad Yusuf to be the next king. After the death of Abdal Chak, Mohammad Yusuf Shah was proclaimed as the next Sultan. It was at that time, the new king chose him to be his Chief Minister. Unfortunately, due to another revolt engineered by Abdal Bhatt, the Sultan had to lose his throne and run away for life towards the mountains.

After the recovery of throne for the second time in 1580 Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, appointed Mohammad Bhatt to work as Chief Minister of the kingdom. Though capable and energetic, Mohammad Bhatt suffered from egoist tendencies and lacked the spirit of toleration. He aimed at dominating other nobles, through all means. Being obsessed by enmity and hatred towards other nobles in general and Shamas Dooni in particular, he tried his best to make the king to fall in line with him. However, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, who was basically good at heart and mild in nature, ignored such pleas and did not agree to take any vindictive step against anyone. The Chief Minister wished to use the king for his own interests but the later refused to be dictated by his servant. The net result of the differences between the two was that Mohammad Bhatt turned a secret enemy of his master. He waited for an opportunity to act against the Sultan and it came soon in the person of Yusuf Khan son of Hussain Shah who had embarked on a mission to assassinate the Sultan. Mohammad Bhatt, not only joined hands with Yusuf Khan but also approached the sons of Sayyid Mubarak to agree to be party in the revolt. He was in a hurry to obtain the support of other Kashmiri nobles, resulting in the leakage of this conspiracy and Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah became aware of these nefarious activities. When Yusuf Khan came to know of it, he became apprehensive of the kings action out of fear fled away towards the mountains of Uri. The royal forces, commanded by the sons of Sayyid Mubarak, pursued the rebels and attacked them. During this bloody encounter Hasi Bhatt the brother of Mohammad Bhatt was seriously wounded and his troops were overpowered. Mohammad Bhatt, who hid himself in a cave, along with his retinue, was arrested. Some of the rebel forces fled away towards Kishtwar and managed to join Haidar chak. This influx of the Kashmiri soldiers added much to his strength.

PRINCE YAQUB:

Being immature and young in age, Prince Yaqub came under the vicious influence of the other mischief-mongers and expressed dissatisfaction with the policies of his illustrious father. In order to show his defiance to the king, he fled away to Kishtwar and joined the camp of Abeh Chak. His action created much anxiety and sadness in the heart of his father.

After a few days, the king deputed Mulla Hassan Aswad, as his emissary to his son in Kishtwar, so that the prince could be motivated to come to the right path. Mulla Aswad proved to be a wise man, who succeeded in winning over the prince by his mild but wise words. He told him to obtain, advice from the elderly and avoid company of the young, who lacked sagacity and experience. He also advised the Prince not to become a prey to hunters, who wanted to catch him and then devour him. In this way, he succeeded in making him to present himself at the door, of his father's royal palace.[40]

ADVENTURES OF HAIDAR CHAK:

In 1580 Haidar Chak, who had joined hands with Lohar Chak had escaped to Kishtwar. In order to save himself from the wrath of the king, Aiba Chak also fled away to Kishtwar and joined Haidar Chak. After some period of time, Shamsi Chak, who had been imprisoned since Mohammad Yusuf Shah's accession, also managed to escape from the prison and reached Kistwar to join Haidar Chak. In this way, Kishtwar became a centre of revolt against the king of Kashmir.

These developments made the position of the king very weak to such an extent that the trouble-creators engaged themselves in subversive activities throughout the kingdom. In order to protect his kingdom from attacks as well as prevent defections, the king decided to strengthen the frontier posts. For this purpose, he ordered Sher Ali Bhatt and Naji Raina to reach nearer Haidar Chak right up to kanal[41]. However, finding them completely negligent of their duties, Haidar Chak, at the head of his Kishtwari troops launched a night assault on them with great speed. In this battle, Shamsi Chak killed Sher Ali Bhatt, while Haidar Chak captured Naji Raina alive. After this skirmish, many from the royal forces joined the rebels. After having gained strength, the rebels under the command of Haidar Chak, Shamsi Chak and Aiba Chak, decided to march towards the capital and encamped at Duksum[42].

After having seen these developments, Mohammad Yusuf Shah, decided to march personally against Haidar Chak. He deputed an advance contingent of soldiers, under the command of the Crown Prince Yaqub, assisted by the two Sayyid brothers, Abual Malli and Ibrahim Khan, to engage the rebels. The king, at the head of a huge force, came out of the capital city, to fight the rebels. However, the advance contingent of the royal forces received a heavy set back, when the rebel troops attacked them from their strongholds in the narrow mountain caves. Most of the royal troops retreated in panic. However, the Sayyid brothers held on their position to extend support to Prince Yaqub. They advised him to remain steadfast in their mission to defeat the rebels and refrain from retreating back to the king as defeated.

Holding on fast to their position the royal forces, though smaller than those of the rebels, fought bravely and achieved victory. The king, who had heard adverse reports rumors about his Crown Prince and the

Sayyid brothers, ordered a further march towards the battleground. In the fierce battle between the royalists and the rebels, which took place in a forest, many perished from both the sides. However, the valiant soldiers of the king stuck to their position, inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels. Haidar Chak, felt alarmed and fled away from the field leaving his fleeing soldiers at the mercy of the royal forces. When the banner of their victory was raised high by the Sayyid brothers the fleeing soldiers of Haidar Chak were cut into pieces by the royal regiments. In this battle, which took place between Mohammad Yusuf Shah and Haidar Chak, in a forest, a stream of blood flowed, thus quenching thirst of forest fire [43].

After this great victory, the king returned to his capital, accompanied by the Crown Prince. The Sayyid brothers, the king bestowed the robes of honor on them. At the same time, the king honored his brave soldiers and their commanders with befitting rewards. After this, the king took up matters of administration and governance into consideration [44]. After some time, Shamshi Chak, Aiba Khan and others, feeling guilty of their conduct, towards the kingdom established their contact with the king and sought his pardon. Not only the king graciously pardoned them but also bestowed the *Jagirs* of Noushera and Bhimber upon them.

HAIDAR CHAK:

After having been defeated in the battlefield, Haidar Chak, along with Yusuf Chak and Ali Chak, first reached Kishtwar. After that, together with their retinue they reached Baltistan. Having received no material help from the Rajas, Haidar Chak decided to go under the protection the Mughals. At last, he reached Lahore, and presented himself before Raja Maan Singh, the Mughal *Subedar* of Punjab. As it was a golden opportunity for the Mughal to see a scion of the Chak dynasty seeking their protection, the *Subedar* bestowed enormous favors upon him and his colleagues. The Raja also secured a dignified position for Haidar Chak in the service of the Mughal Emperor.

MUGHAL INTERVENTION:

The Mughal Emperor, Akbar, was in no mood to tolerate any defiance from any minor chief in India, especially Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah of Kashmir, who had designated himself, *Padshah Gazi* or Valiant

King, on his second accession in 1580. During that period of time, the Mughals had established their sway from Afghanistan to Bengal. they would not tolerate any independent chief or ruler within the sphere of their expanding empire. The valley of Kashmir, due to its strategic position on the Silk Road demanded its subservience under the Mughal. Arrival of Haidar Chak Yusuf Chak and Ali Chak, in Lahore and seeking protection of Raja Maan Singh, was a clear indication that the Mughal Emperor Akbar could use them against Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah of Kashmir [47].

The arrival of Haidar Chak and other rebels in Lahore caused a great worry in the mind of Mohammad Yusuf Shah. He felt convinced that Akbar would use them against him. He knew that Akbar was already displeased with him and it was necessary to secure safety from the tricks of a cunning enemy. The king took into confidence Khwaja Qasim son of Khawaja Haidar and told him about his worries. He said:

> *It is not prudent and wise to remain ignorant about the enemies and the crooked. An enemy cannot be considered as an ordinary harmless person [48].*

The king was of the opinion that under such circumstances, it was necessary to counteract the intrigues of Haidar Chak. On hearing this, Khwaja Qasim agreed with the views of the king and offered his services to free the king from anxiety at the behest of the king. Accordingly, Khwaja Qasim accompanied by Khwaja Ghani Kabuli, presented themselves before Raja Maan Singh at Lahore, loaded with precious gifts and choicest presents for the Raja and other Mughal Officers. After some time, Khwaja Qasim took an opportunity to speak with the Raja and his officers against Haidar Chak. However, his efforts in maligning Haidar Chak, failed to convince the Raja, rather it strengthened his belief that it was possible to use Haidar Malik as a pawn against Mohammad Yusuf Shah.

After his failure to obtain any support from Raja Maan Singh in favor of the Kashmiri king, Khwaja Qasim, returned back. Instead of admitting his failure in achieving any thing, he boasted of having obtained indirect expressions of support of Raja Maan Singh for the king of Kashmiri. Thus, making use of flattery and falsehood, he befooled the Sultan to such an extent that he received honors and the title of Mirza from him. He was also bestowed with the post of Chief Minister

Prince Yaqub, who was gifted with abundance of prudence and wisdom, understood that Khwaja Qasim was a liar and had given false reports to the king to further his selfish ends. The prince even reproached him in the king's court, with the result that Khwaja Qasim became his enemy and decided to avenge this insult. During this very period, Raja Maan Singh, the Subehdar of the Mughals at Lahore deputed Timor Baigh as Emperor Akbar's emissary to Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah which is partly reproduced below:

> *"Royal patronage and attention were given to you because the signs of sincerity and truthfulness were imprinted on your departure to Kashmir; no report about the affairs of the state has been submitted to the Imperial court. It appears that the insurgents have been subdued now. It is desired that the report in question, giving facts about the actual situation be submitted without any delay. Further, it is our wish that you present yourself in person at the Imperial court".*

The Mughal emissary demanded that the Kashmiri king present himself in submission before the Mughal Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. The visit of Timor Baigh provided a good opportunity to Khwaja Qasim for removing Prince Yaqub from the scene. He impressed upon the king that the best way of expressing submission to Akbar was to depute the Crown Prince, with presents to the Mughal court. Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, who lived under moratl fear of Akbar agreed to this selfish suggestion of Khawaja QAsim. Accordingly Yaqub who was his heir- apparent reached the Mughal court and was in the services of Akbar for two years. In the meantime, when Raja Nilkanth Bandelah revolted against the suzerainty of Akbar, he ordered his commanders of his army to prepare themselves for an attack on the rebel. Prince Yaqub, who had gone to many a combat and performed outstanding feats, offered to eliminate the rebel Raja without resorting to a full scale invasion. Akbar, permitted the Kashmiri Prince Yaqub to show his merit. In doing so, Akbar thought to achieve two objectives to test him or to have him exterminated through his own deed. Yaqub left on his mission in the garb of a merchant and entered the camp of Raja Nilkanth Bandelah.

Being informed that a merchant of jewels wished to show his pre-

cious jewels to the Raja, Yaqub was permitted to enter the inner chambers of the Raja, who was having a bath. There was none except a few Brahmans and eunuchs, in the chamber, when Yaqub overpowered the Raja, telling him. *I am Yaqub Khan Kashmiri and have come to present you to the Emperor's court. In case you agree, well and good and in case you disagree, I will sever your head from your body, and take that head instead.* The Raja saw no way but to submit and accompanied Yaqub to the court of Akbar. The Raja was ordered to be kept in prison by the Emperor [49]. At the time of deputing his son to the Mughal Emperor, Sultan Yusuf Shah had sent very costly presents with much preparation. But when he had seen these precious presents, he came to know about the riches, which the king of Kashmir possessed at that very moment, according to Shuka, the contemporary historian decided to subdue the kingdom of Kashmir [50].

THE MUGHAL MISSION:

After his return from Kabul, in 1581, Akbar sent his accomplished envoys Hakim Ali and Saleh Aqil to Mohammad Yusuf Shah with a stern message asking him to present himself in person before the Emperor. The message read as under:

> *Be it known to you, that this gracious Majesty is much unhappy for the manner in which you have spurned our help. Even you have not offered thanks for the favors, which were shown, to you during your exile. You were summoned to present yourself before this august self but you hesitated and instead deputed your mad son, whose mind is unsound and he was of no use. If this time you wake any excuse in coming then be prepared for the royal wrath, which is a sample of God's wrath* [52].

The Sultan of Kashmir showed much respect to the *firman* of the Mughal Emperor by kissing it and expressing his gratitude to Akbar but in his heart of hearts, he was under mortal fear of Akbar. He convened a meeting of his ministers and the Kashmiri nobles and expressed his views about the intentions of the Mughal Emperor. He expressed his desire to go in person to Fatehpur Sikri and present himself before Akbar. He was of the view that the Emperor would forgive him. But none of the Kashmiri nobles accepted his views. As such, the envoys of Akbar returned back to the imperial court, without having achieved anything. The king discussed the whole situation with his councilors, who, one and all were of firm opinion, that the Mughal Emperor wished to subjugate Kashmir, sooner or later and he was searching for any pretext. It was also clear that he was adopting pressure tactics and it was for these reasons, the Emperor continued to issue warnings from time to time.

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was aware about the superior power of the Mughal Emperors, who were bent upon expanding their empire and would not tolerate independent entities in the region. After receiving messages and warnings from Akbar, he would depute his sons, envoys and presents for the Emperor. But each audience, Akbar would issue another order demanding personal appearance of Mohammad Yusuf Shah. On this occasion, he consulted his advisors but all of them, fearing that Akbar was bent upon harming Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, advised him not to depart for the Imperial court but instead prepare himself for defense [53]. He had sent his heir-apparent to Akbar and now, he deputed his most dear Prince Haidar, born out of his wed lock with his beloved wife, Queen Habba Khatoon to Fatehpur Sikri. On this occasion, he selected choicest presents for the Mughal Emperor [54].

MUGHAL INVASION: 1585

The frequent arrival of the Mughal envoys to Kashmir conveying threats and warnings to Mohammad Yusuf Shah, sent an alarm among the people as well as the nobility. This commotion created an upsurge among the people who did not like their country to be subjugated by the foreigners. The king was on the horns of a dilemma because his councilors advised him to take effective measures to safeguard Kashmir, against the Mughal invasion. When Akbar received reports about the upsurge in Kashmir, he issued orders about invading the kingdom of Kashmir.

In December 1585, the Mughal army consisting fifty thousand horsemen, fully armed started march towards Kashmir from Attok, under Bhagwan Das son of Raja Maan Singh and Shahrukh Mirza [55]. According to the Mughal historians, Shiakh Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak assisted the Mughal army, as guides during this invasion [56]. When the news of the Mughal advance reached the Sultan, Prince Yaqub and all the Kashmiri noble requested Mohammad Yusuf Shah to make arrangements for the defense. With great reluctance, he agreed to their

suggestion. They then settled their plan to defeat the enemy and ordered all the people of the mountains to turn out under fear of penalty. The king then came forth and the soldiers were arrayed and the banners which dwarfed the trees looked beautiful [57]. The king ordered release of Mohammad Bhatt from prison and assigned him the task of guarding the city as well as the royal household. In order to assist him in this task Alam Sher Khan was also released. [58]

The Sultan marched reluctantly with twelve thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry men against the invaders, but in reality he was not in favor of confrontation with the imperial forces. He took shelter in the shrine of Varaha and there he remained in the forest. He addressed his ministers:

> "You should not fight, we will take refuge at the lotus feel of Jalaluddin that we may serve him. How can the weaker of the two have the strength to overcome the mightier? The storm has not the strength to uproot a mountain." [59]

When the ministers heard what the Sultan of Kashmir had told them, they said:

> *"Why do you think thus? One never accomplishes a religious act; he does not obey the good advice of his religious preceptor. In the same way a patient who disregards the advice of the physician never recovers; an elephant never acquires skill if it does not follow its driver; and a king who neglects the words of his ministers never attains prosperity."* [60]

After this, the ministers advanced to the front with a view to fight the invaders. Hassan Malik and Alam Sher Magrey were placed in the vanguard; Shamas-uddin and Yusuf Chak were placed in the right flank and Sayyid Abdul Muali and Hussain Khan were placed in the left flank. The heir-apparent, Yaqub together with Lohar Qureshi, Baba Talib Isfahani and Hasan Bhatt, occupied the central position. Thus the Kashmiri army, assisted by the landlords of Khakha Dekan, marched forward towards the old frontier in the Vitasta valley, below Baramulla.61

The Mughal had chosen the Pakhli route instead of the Shupiyan route to undertake the invasion of Kashmir. The Kashmiri did not expect any invasion from that side at the time of the year, the Mughal forces reached the mountain pass of Buliasa in the Vitasta Valley, without any difficulty. Since the ancient times, Bolyasaka, or the present Bulisa had served as a frontier-post of the Kashmir. The Kashmir army after having retreated from Urasa reached Bolyasaka, a military port on the borders of their own territory.[62] However, when the Mughals reached the swamp of *Daranga*, near the frontier post of Bulisa, they had to face the advance guards of the Kashmiri army. In the ensuing battle, the warring heroes and the courageous fighters of both the sides, fought with valor. Since the winter season had set in it rained heavily resulting in a flood, which covered the swampy *Daranga*. The enemy had to suffer heavily in men and animals both at the hands of Kashmiris due to several causes. According to Haidar Malik, they perished due to cold and famine, because no ration could reach them. Another cause was the flood that covered the swampy *Daranga* and the next cause was the enormous number of the killings on both the sides.[63] However, the author of another contemporary source clearly states that the Kashmiri soldier in their first encounter with the imperial forces, killed a large number of the enemy soldiers in the battlefield and their heads were presented to the king of Kashmir.[64]

The commander of the Mughal army Raja Bhagwan Dass sent a secret letter to the king of Kashmir, in which he admitted of having been defeated this time. But he warned the king about the second Mughal invasion, which would be carried out by thousands of soldiers, in near future.. Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was also told that he should rather think of his death now, which was certain to be accomplished in the next campaign. [65]

After having received this letter, the king held consultations with his Wazir, Khwaja Qasim, who told him that conciliation was the best course to be adopted under these awful circumstances. He also told the king in secret that continuous resistance to the Mughal forces was not possible and it would be wise to initiate discussions with Raja Baghwan Das. [66] In the meanwhile, the king called for his ministers and said to them:

> *"Indra reigns in the east only, yama in the south, the god of water in the west and the god of gold in the north. While they rule in one direction only, the king Jalal-uddin*

is the lord all around. Caste away your fear, obey my words, I will take refuge at the lotus like feet of Jalal-uddin. How can I act inimically towards the Emperor? I will serve him and there shall be happiness in my country".[67]

During his secret discussions with his Wazir Khwaja Qasim it was suggested to him that they could use the good offices of Raja Bhagwan Das, for gaining access to the Mughal Emperor. As a result of this thinking, the king allowed Khwaja Qasim to meet Raja Bhagwan Das and enter into an agreement with him. It was planned that the king would meet the Raja in secret after political negotiations.

Raja Bhagwan Das received Khwaja Qasim with honor and courtesy. He had failed to defeat the Kashmiri forces and lost hope to obtain a formal submission from the king of Kashmir, so that he could satisfy the Mughal Emperor. In order to see his mission a success, he agreed to all the conditions laid down by Khwaja Qasim. Accordingly, the both sides signed a treaty, which was delivered to Sultan Yusuf Shah, who was advised to join Raja Bhagwan Das without any delay. Further, he was cautioned not to consult his sons or ministers. Sensing mischief, some of the noble met the king and advised him from taking any hasty step. But the Sultan gave a long discourse explaining the virtues of Jalal-uddin Akbar Padshah in these words:

"The Emperor worships the Sun, the real and the visible god. His difficulties fly away from him owing to his devotion to this luminary. The most intelligent Emperor, Jalal-uddin thought to himself that the different Vedas varied in their views, that the realm of the chief of the gods was once assailed by the Asura Chief, that the pride of the Gandharvas Chief, was also humbled. Indra, and other gods were much subject to fear. Thus Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva turned towards the sun with clasped hands. The Emperor therefore bows to the sun, the visible god! How can my troops cope with those of king Akavara when they arrive? How useless is it to try to repel the waves of the sea when they break over the land by means of winnowing fan? What harm befalls the Sun, the visible god should an owl vilify him?"[69]

In compliance of the secret plan, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah, set out on his royal horse, under the pretext of inspecting the advance columns of the royal army. He received the guard of honor from his forces at Balisa. The Mir Bakshi told him that the Kashmiri army which consisted of 15,000 horse, 25,000 foot and 7,000 musketeers, was fit to defend the kingdom. After cheering them, he quietly slipped into the enemy camp of the Mughals along with three or four personal guards. This disastrous act occurred on the 14th of February, 1586. He had taken this hasty step without seeking sound advice from his ministers, commanders and sons. [70] Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah according to Prajyabhatta and Shuka having enjoyed for eight years had resolved to do what he had said about taking refuge at the feet of Jalal-uddin Akbar Padshah.[71] On the following day, all the ministers, nobles and commanders, declared Yaqub, the crown prince as the king of Kashmir in place of his father. This decision had the support of Shamas Chak, Alam Sher, and Shamas Dooni and they had taken this decision to ensure the security of their country.[72]

IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH:

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was presented before the Mughal Emperor Akbar on 28 March 1586. In clear violation of the treaty, Akbar imprisoned Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah and made him over to Ram Das Kachawa at Lahore. After some time he was kept under the custody of Raja Todar as a political prisoner. This was a clear violation of the treaty, according to which, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah after paying homage to Akbar was entitled to return to his country. The Kashmiri chronicles states that this breach of the treaty affected Raja Bhagwan Das so much that he attempted to commit suicide to vindicate his honour as a Rajput but was saved at the intervention of Abdur Rahim. Sultan Mohammad Shah was kept under detention by Todar Mal Kashmir was completely annexed and his son Mohammad Yaqub Shah the last Chak Sultan was also taken as captive to Delhi. He was set free after two and a half years imprisonment at the request of Raja Maan Singh. He was sent by Raja Maan Singh and a humble *Jagir* in Bihar was made over to him. He was also conferred the mansab of 5000 horse carrying a salary ranging from rupees 2100 to 2500 a month.

He also served in Bengal and accompanied Raja Maan Singh to subjugate Orissa. After the success of Orissa, Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah

fell ill at Jagian Nathpur and after six days illness he died on Wednesday, the 14th Zu-i-Hija to Biswak in Bihar by Sayyid Mubarak's son Sayyid Abul Maali and buried there after some days. Thus ended the life of one of the most cultured kings of Kashmir.

ESTIMATE:

Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah was one among the great rulers of Kashmir. He offered the *NImaz* regularly and some times, even acted as the Imam of the congregation. After each *NImaz*, he would recite the verses from the Holy Quran. He was a poet and could compose verses in Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit. He was well versed in grammar and the art of writing. Himself a caligrapher, he wrote quotations from the scholarly treatises of Persian and Arabic. He loved music and even composed new tunes. Baba Dawood Khaki, the chief disciple of Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdoomi, wrote his famous, *Qasida Gusia Yusuf Shahi* in about 1580. His dedication reads as under:

> *Presented with gratitude to the Sultan of the era; the brave Padshah, magnanimous and fortunate; the lover of knowledge and scholars; pious and virtueous; Naseer-uddin Mohammad Yusuf Shah Gazi.*[73]

Baba Dawood Khaki showers praises on the good qualities of Sultan Mohammad Yusuf Shah Gazi in the sixty-six verses:

> "Yusuf Shah is the famous king who is the rightful claimant to the throne, the country and the wealth. He is basically created beautiful, in person as well as nature. He loves the noble Prophet and his family and his companions. Due to these qualities, he is a true follower of the religion of (Islam). He is a seeker of knowledge and makes enquiries from the *Ulema* about *Shara Tafseer* and *Hadis*. He even leads prayers congregations as the Imam and recites shorter and longer verses (of the Holy Quran). He is compiling poems and verses. He is very much interested in mysticism and wishes to learn the secrets of *Tasawuf*. He has full knowledge of lexicon and other arts and crafts, like calligraphy and music, in which he has invented several tunes like *Husaini* and *Gazal*. The Qazis and the Muftis acknowledge, his great sense of justice because he never tolerates injustice to his subjects. As such, all people- urban and rural appreciate his sense of mercy and compassion. He is anxious about the education of his subjects for which he has established schools in cities, towards and villages. The people of Hindustan feel bewildered at his horsemanship.[74]

NOTES

1. The histories written after the Mughal subjugation of Kashmiri were compiled at the behest the Mughal Emperor. As such, these books do not give a dispassionate account of historical events as well as faithful portrait of the Kashmiri kings and queens. Rather these Mughal mercenaries have distorted historical facts to the interest of their ruling masters. One such work is of Malik Haidar Chadoora, who was granted the title *Rais-al-Mulook* by Emperor Jahangir.
2. Abdul Fazal; *Ain-Akbari,* trans. Blochmann, Calcutta 1939, Vol.III, p.465.
3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.115. The Mughal historian have not mentioned the episode regarding presenting of two mistresses to the royal guest by Akbar.
4. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,*
5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.115.
6. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.115.
7. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir.*
8. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.116
9. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.397.
10. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p..
11. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.117.
12. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398.
13. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.117.
14. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398.

15. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.119.
16. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398.
17. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.121.
18. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.397. According to Shuka, it was Haidar Chak, who with the assistance of other Kashmiri nobles set up Lohar Shah Chak on the throne of Kashmir.
19. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.121.
20. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.397.
    Baharistan-i-Shahi. trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.115.
21. *The king invokes the Shariyat-i-Mohammadi,* or Islamic law and Hanafi traditions for trial of the rebels. It is interesting to find that, the king who was a Shia Muslim, followed Hanfi juriesprudence of Imam Abu-Hanifa the founder of Sunni Muslim and sect.
22. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.121.
23. *Qasida Gusalia Yusuf Shahi* (Persian) libraries & research and Publication Department, Jammu & Kashmir, Srinagar, 2002, p.11.
24. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.123.
25. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398.
26. As a token of his submission in 1572, the Raja of Kishtawar gave his daughter in marriage to the prince Yaqub, the son of the prince Yusuf, who had not yet ascended the throne. As such, the probable date of his marriage with his first wife (the mother of Yakub) could be about 25 years earlier. 1547 AD.
27. *Gulistan-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Mohammad Hussam *alias* Hussam-uddin, Persian Manuscript, (1147 AH.) in the collection of Sayyid Maqbool Hussain and Sayyid Anees Kazmi in the Cultural Academy journal, Shiraza (Kashmir), VOL-19, No.4, 1984 and *Shiraza* (Kashmiri),Feb. 1997
    "In 766 AH. Sayyid Fakar-uddin and his brother Sayyid Farid-uddin arrived into Kashmir in the company of Mir Sayyid Haidar-al-Kubrvi. The former is buried in Niva, Cheratn and the later in Jamalata,in present day Srinagar."
28. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* Abdul Wahab Shiaq, *Fatuhat-i-Kubraviya* (Persian Manuscript) f.706.

29. *Verses in Kashmiri composed by the Queen Habba Khatoon, quoted by Ghulam Rasool Bhatt in Habba Khatoon (Urdu), Srinagar, 1999, p.160.*
30. Abdul Wahab Shiaq in his *Shahnama-i-Kashmir* writes:
    "Sultan Yusuf Shah possessed a world renowned musician in the person of lady Habiba, who had attained the status of Arifa. She composed sweet songs and the king cherished hearing her poetic compositions."
31. Bashar Bashir, Paper on Habba Khatoon, in *Shiraza* (Kashmiri) cultural Academy, Vol-19, No.4.
32. Fida Hassnain, Kashmir Srinagar 2007, p.212
33. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398-399.
34. Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.82-83
35. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1875 p.398.
36. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1995, p.123.
37. Tibet, whose ruler provided military help, refers to the little Tibet on Baltistan, with its capital at Skardu. As the region was dominated by the followers of Hazrat Meer Shameh-uddin Araki, it was but natural for them to help the Kashmiri nobles, who had come ask help from Gazi Meer (1565-1595) the king of Baltistan.
38. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1995, p.123
39. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.399
40. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.124.
41. Kanal is a village in Kishtwar, above the path leading towards Bagu and Barar-i-Bal pass.(Bates Gazetteer of Kashmir).
42. Duksum is a halting stage above on the way to Kishtwar via Maru Wardwan Valley.
43. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1879 p.398.
44. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.125.
45. Nizam-uddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* trans. Calcutta, 1927-29. Vol-III, p.759.
46. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.82.
47. Nizam-uddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* trans. Calcutta, 1927-29. Vol-III, p.759.
48. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.126.

49. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.84.
50. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,* translation Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1898 p.399.
51. The Mughal coins of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan also carry the legend: Padshah and Ghazi.
52. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.85.
53. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.85.
54. Haidar Malik C, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.84.
55. While Shuka's *Rajatarangni* and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* names Bhagwan Dass and Shahrukh Mirza as commander the invading army, the other Mughal historians make mention twenty other commandants also.
56. The contemporary Kashmiri sources, Shuka's *Rajatarangni* and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* make no mention of Shiakh Yaqub Safi and Haidar Chak, as guide of the Mughals in this campaign.
57. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.399.
58. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.127.
59. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.400.
60. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.400.
61. Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.85.
62. Kalhana, *Rajatarangni* trans Aurel stein, Vol-II. London 1900, p. 402.
63. Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1997, p.85.
64. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.128.
65. Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991, p.85.
66. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.128.
67. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.400-401.
68. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.128.
69. Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, Calcutta, 1895 p.402.
70. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* trans. Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt, Srinagar 1997, p.128.
71. Prajyabhatta and Shuka, *Rajatarangini,*trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt,

brown above, and brown-streaked white below. It has a large head, long legs, and yellow eyes, and its white "eyebrows" give it a stern expression. This species has a bounding flight like a woodpecker. Juveniles are duller, and lack the adult's white crown spots. The call is a querulous *kee-ik.*

There is a pale grey-brown Middle Eastern type known as Syrian Little Owl *A. n. lilith.* Other forms include another pale race, the north African *A. n. desertae,* and three intermediate subspecies, *A. n. indigena* of southeast Europe and Asia Minor, *A. n. glaux* in north Africa and southwest Asia, and *A. n. bactriana* of central Asia. A recent paper in the ornithological journal Dutch Birding (vol. 31: 35-37, 2009) has advocated splitting the southeastern races as a separate species Lilith's Owl *Athene glaux* (with subspecies *A. g. glaux, A. g. indigena,* and *A. g. lilith*).

Distribution and Status

There are 13 recognized races of Little owl spread across Europe and Asia. The Little Owl was sacred to the goddess Athena, from whom it gets the generic name.

Behaviour and Ecology

This is a sedentary species which is found in open country such as mixed farmland and parkland. It takes prey such as insects, earthworms, amphibians, but also small birds and mammals. It can attack birds of considerable size like game birds. It is partly diurnal and often perches boldly and prominently during the day.

It becomes more vocal in nights as the breeding season approaches. Nest location varies based on the habitat, nests being found in holes in trees, rocks, cliffs, river banks, walls, buildings etc. It lays 3-5 eggs which are incubated by the female for 28–29 days, with a further 26 days to fledging. Little Owls will also nest in buildings, both abandoned and those fitted with custom owl nest boxes. If living in an area with a large amount of human activity, Little Owls may grow used to man and will remain on their perch, often in full view, while humans are around.

Long-eared Owl

The Long-eared Owl-*Asio otus* (previously: *Strix otus*) is a species of owl which breeds in Europe, Asia, and North America. This species is a part of the larger grouping of owls known as typical owls, family Strigidae, which contains most species of owl. The other grouping of owls are the barn owls, family Tytonidae.

Description

The Long-eared Owl is a medium sized owl, 31–37 cm (12–15 in) in length with an 86–98 cm (34–39 in) wingspan. It has erect blackish ear-tufts,

16.

FOUNDING FATHER OF KASHMIRI FREEDOM MOVEMENT

It is but natural for human beings to hold different views on the same issue. It is also difficult for any human being to claim that his point of view is correct and the other person is wrong. There is no final word in the domain of research. As such, instead of arguing for the sake of argument will not lead us nearer the truth. This is my sincere opinion after reading scholars like G.M. Zahid, Tabassum Kashmir and Aijaz Ahmad Kakroo in the Greater Kashmir. It was Zahid who wrote, *"I do see Allama Iqbal as the founding father of Kashmir struggle"* and proposed some arguments to prove his hypothesis. However, we know that our freedom struggle starts right from our enslavement by Akbar in 1586. It was Yaqub Shah Chak, who fought against the Mughals but latter scumbed to the desires of life. Had he fought and laid down his life for the cause, he would have been mentioned in history as the founding father of Kashmiri freedom movement. After the Mughals we were enslaved by the Afghans, the Sikhs and the Dogras. The then British East India Company sold Kashmir and its people to Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1847 and the period of slavery continued upto 1947. In fact, our organized political struggle starts with the advent of the Dogra Maharajas. The first person, who engineered armed struggle against the Dogras was a lady, Begam of Sheikh Imam uddin Edwards in his letter dated 15 october 1846 to Henry Lawrence speaks of her "as a bigoted Muslim full of schemes for Mohammadan ascendency in a Muslim Majority State." Naba Shah in his *Waijiz-ul-Tawarikh* describes her as a woman of determined courage and noble character. Iqbal Ahmad in his *Discoveries of Kashmir*, p. 298 mentions her as the brain behind the 1846 uprising against the Dogras. Naturally, she can be counted among

the founder of freedom struggle in Kashmir.

It was in April 1865, when Kashmiris, mostly shawl weavers lead an organized struggle against the Dogra Maharaja. This struggle was engineered by Shiekh Rasool, Abli Baba, Qudda Lala and Sona Shah. This struggle came to an end when the Dogra army under Col. Bajay Singh ambushed the agitators at Haji Rather. Hundreds of workers suffered injuries and at least 28 dead bodies were collected by the people floating in the water. This historical event makes Sheikh Rasool, Abl Baba, Qudda Lal and Sona Shah as the founder fathers of Kashmiri struggle.

In the historical records of our Freedom Struggle we find two names, most dominant, who wrote pages after pages against the Dogra Rule. In their writings, they declared that the sale of Kashmir and its people to Gulab Singh was a crime against humanity. While Robert Thrope gave his life for Kashmir, in 1868, Salam Rafiqui had to conduct a long odyssey from Srinagar to Sialkot, then to Shimla, then to Calcutta, then to Rangoon and finally to Jakarta in Indonesia Opinions may differ but some will be inclined to include them in the list of founding fathers of our freedom struggle.

In 1924, the Muslims of Kashmir submitted a memorandum of grievances before the Viceroy of India, demanding:

Prospritary rights to the peasants.

Equitable representation in secures

Abolition of Begar and other taxs

Release of mosques and shrines under use of government.

This memorandum was signed by Khwaja Saad-uddin Shawl, Khwaja Noor Sahib, Khwaja Hassan Shah and Sayyid Hussain Shah Jalali, Mirwaiz Hamadani and Mir Waiz Kashmir. Naturally they can also be included in the list of founding fathers of freedom struggle.

It is also a historical fact that the ideological base to our freedom struggle was provided by Molvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Hakim Ghulam Safdar and Munshi Mohammad Din Fauq. The role of the Reading Room Party in spear heading the struggle is well known.

In his write up in GK 30 Feb. Tabassum Kashmiri had pleaded that

it is historically incorrect to term Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal as the founder father of our struggle. His arguments are as under.

a) During his professional visit to Kashmir as a lawyer in 1921, Dr. Iqbal, spent his time in sight seeing and did not interact with the elders of Kashmiri Muslims, nor pleaded against the sufferings of Kashmiri Muslims with any authority.

b) It was only after 10 years silence, he took active interest in Kashmiri politics in 1931 and that too for a short period of a few months.

Both of the two contentions are historically correct except that Dr. Sir Iqbal was proud of his being of Kashmiri origin and he would often talk about their miserable life with those who met him. Also it cannot be denied that Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal was a great poet, philosopher and politician. It was he, who encouraged and worked closely with Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinah to lead the Indian Muslims to carve out a Muslim State out of the Hindu India. While advocating unity among Muslims of the world, he pleaded for the revival of Islamic civilization and culture in a global perspective. He wanted all Muslims to follow the real teachings of Islam. It is also a fact that in his writings after 1931, he wept over the plight of Kashmiris as well as the sale of Kashmir for a petty sum of seventy five lakh of rupees.

We all love and respect Dr. Sir Iqbal as an illustrious son of Kashmir, but his active contribution in our freedom struggle is not so significant as to name him as the founding father of our freedom struggle. Dr. Sir Iqbal returned to India in 1908 from Cambridge and took up the job of a Professor in Government College, Lahore. As his personal life was in turmoil during the period, and even though the miserable plight of Kashmir's dominated his thinking, he could not mention the drowning of Kashmiris in the Wular Lake nor Zaldagar Nallah in his poetic compositions. He came to Kashmir in 1921 but did not interact with anyone. We fail to find any contribution of Dr. Sir Iqbal in the Memorandum presented and signed by Khawaja Saad-uddin Shawl, Khwaja Noor Shah, Sayyid Hussain Shah Jalali and others, submitted to the Viceroy of India in 1924. Nor, we see any reaction of Dr. Sir Iqbal towards the martyrdom of 13th July 1931.

We do have substantial historical evidence about the contributions made by Mirza Bashir-uddin Mehmood towards the freedom

struggle of Kashmiri Muslims, We cannot forget that being very vigilant and ahead of times, it were his followers like Abdullah Vakil, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and others, who spearhead this political struggle against the Maharaja. In that period of time all Kashmiri Muslims irrespective of *Masliks*, joined hands to overthrow the Dogra Maharaja. We are informed that when Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah as teacher was shunted to Muzaffarabad by the Government, he met another teacher in the school, whose name was Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, who had studied at Qadian *Madrasa*. Both of them became friends and it was Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, who took Shaikh Sahib to Hazra and introduced him to Mirza Bashir-uddin Mehmood. A highly researched work entiled Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyat by Doost Mohammad Shahid, in its volume 5 gives an account of a meeting between Mirza Bashir-uddin

And Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah at Ghari Habibullah in 1932. During this meeting Shaikh Sahib gave a sorrowful description of Kashmiri Muslims in general, together with his personal tale of suffering as a teacher with his high qualification in receipt of a meager pay of Rs. 60/- per month. After hearing him, it was Mirza Bashir-uddin Mehmood, who advised Shaikh Sahib to resign and dedicate his life in the service of Kashmiri Muslims.After having agreed to lead the Kashmiri people, Mirzaahib, agreed to provide him with amphal financial support for establishing a political office in Kashmir. He was also assured of finances to maiontain his personal expences.This notable work privides copies of personal letters by Shaikh Sahib about financial aid receved by him from time to time. It is clear that Shaikh Sahib came back to Kashmir to start his political activities, under the patronage of Mirza Bashir-uddin Mehmood, the head of Ahmadi Muslims.

After the 13th July 1931 Massacre, the whole of Kashmir remained under curfew for 21 days. While the Muslim Press of Panjab came forward with stories of atrocities committed against the Muslim masses the Hindu Press asked the Maharaja to crush the agitation with an iron hand. At this juncture, that Ahmadi Muslims organized relief camps and committees throughout India for aid of the Kashmiri Muslims. At this critical juncture, when the Viceroy of India had shown his inclination to take over Kashmir, under direct rule as a part of British India, the Maharaja and his Hindu agencies, succeeded in dividing the Kashmiri Muslims on sectarian lines. Thus the Kashmiri Muslims lost the golden

- Create and manage wide rides and glades throughout the wood, to provide foraging habitat – this will benefit other birds and wildlife.

Nightjars in human culture

These lines are from the poem *Love in the Valley* by George Meredith–

Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle-notes unvaried,

Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown eve-jar.'

In *Fern Hill* Dylan Thomas wrote :

"and all the night long I heard, blessed among stables, the nightjars flying with the ricks."

The similarity to the whirr of a spinning-wheel doubtless originated the old name "Jenny-spinner". The duration of the trill may be for a fraction of a minute or for several minutes without a pause. It is continued at intervals during summer, and occasionally may be heard in August and September, just before the bird departs.

Its rounded head and short beak, together with its mottled dress, give it a peculiar reptilian appearance; little wonder that one of its old names is "Flying toad." "Nighthawk" and "Fern-owl" are names derived from its habits, "Dorhawk" and "Moth-owl" from its food.

Its weird nocturnal note and silent ghostly flight have earned from the superstitious the name "Lich (corpse) Fowl" and "Puckeridge", and "Goatsucker" is due to wholly erroneous notions of its intentions when flying amongst animals.

17.

ARCHIVAL RESOURCES OF KASHMIR:

In March, 1846, the then British East India Company Government in India transferred by sale all the mountainous country along with dependencies situated between the river Indus and the river Ravi to Gulab Singh of Jammu, resulting in the creation of dominion of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and regions of the *Tibet-Khurd*, under the Dogra Maharaja. Subsequently, the administration of this dominion gave rise to the establishment of small record rooms as well as creation of more and more records.. Hence at present we have these records preserved in the three Repositories at Jammu, Srinagar and Leh.

The records preserved in the State Archives Repository, Jammu date back to 1724 and are mainly records of Chief Minister and his secretary previously known as *'Daftar Diwani'* and *'Saddar Dafter'*. It also contains personal records of the Maharaja as well as the army records.

Taken together, the items of records and documents are:

i. Individual documents in the Turkish, Tibetan, Chinese, Dogri, Urdu and other language.
ii. Persian Records, 1724 to 1892.
iii. *Kitab Navisi* Registers (Persian). 1847 to 1927.
iv. (Old) English Records, 1868 to 1921.
v. Private Records of Maharaja Pratap Singh, 1885 to 1924.
vi. State Department Records (English), 1885 to 1924.
vii. Vernacular (Urdu) Records, 1889 to 1965.
viii. Secretariat Records (English), 1889 to 1965.
ix. Council Proceedings, (English) 1922 to 1943.

x. Military Records, (English) 1922 to 1943.
xi. His Highness Orders, (English) 1926 to 1943.
xii. Council and Cabinet Orders (English) 1943 to 1965.
xiii. Departmental Records, (English, Persian and Urdu) 1947 to 1965

The State Archives Repository, Srinagar was established in 1956 for the preservation of provincial Records. It houses:

1. Governor of Kashmir Records (English and Urdu) (1924-47).
2. Secretariat and other Departmental Records.
3. J&K Constitution and connecting papers.
4. Correspondence between Political Leaders (1947-1953)
5. Maps of Jammu and Kashmir.
6. Regional Record Survey Committee Private papers. (English, Urdu, Persian and Kashmiri)
7. C.I.D Reports.

The records at Leh deal with the administration of the frontier illaqas, land revenue, trade with the Central Asian Chiefs and Tibet and activities of the Moravian Mission and the British Joint Commissioners appointed to look after the British interests beyond the frontiers.

For consulting the State Government Archives at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar, it is necessary to obtain permission of the Director of Archives. Besides the above we have departmental Record Offices, such as *Mohafiz Kahana Maal* and Mahafiz Khana *Bandobast* at Jammu, Srinagar and Poonch. In these repositories the records pertaining to proprietary rights to land are preserved.

MANUSCRIPT RESOURCES:

Jammu and Kashmir has the unique distinction of having its history from earlier times to the present recorded in manuscripts. Such manuscript collections are preserved in the following libraries:

1. Oriental Manuscript Library of Research Department, at present in University of Kashmir.
2. Cultural Academy Library, Lalmandi, Srinagar.
3. Archives Reference Library, Old Secretariat, Jammu.
4. Archives Reference Library, Old Secretariat, Srinagar

5. Public Library Lalmandi, Srinagar.
6. Rughnath Patshala Library Jammu.
7. Buddhist School of Philosophy, Leh, Ladakh.
8. Madinat-ul-Aloom, Hazratbal, Srinagar.
9. Bab-ul-llam, Budgam, Kashmir.
10. Manzoor Daikoo Oriental Manuscript Library, Nishat.
11. S.P.S Museum, Srinagar.
12. Central Asian Museum, University of Kashmir.
13. Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir.

Besides the above, there are several private collections containing manuscript in Oriental languages. Most of the manuscripts resources are in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Turkish, Hindi, Urdu, Balti, Kashmiri and Dogri.

Published Source Material.

Published source material falls into two categories; governmental and private. Among the Governmental source material, mention may be made of:

a. Administration Reports. (1872-1999)
b. Jammu and Kashmir Gazettes. (1889-1999)
c. Punjab Gazette. (1925-1934)
d. India Gazette. (1925-1955)
e. Census of India Reports. (1891-1961)
f. Jammu and Kashmir Budgets. (1893-1965)
g. J&K Praja Saba Reports. (1934-1946)
h. J&K constituent Assembly Debates.
i. J&K Legislative Assembly debates (1955-1999)
j. J&K Civil and Military Lists. (1893-1947)
k. J&K Civil Lasts (1954-1999)
l. Magazines, Newspapers and Pamphlets.
m. Reports and Memorandums
n. Publications of the Government Press.

All the above printed publications are preserved in the State Archives Repositories at Jammu and Srinagar and Departmental Libraries.

National Archives of India.

In the National Archives of India, New Delhi, we have unpublished archives material about Kashmir, which is listed below:

a. Foreign Secret Papers.
b. Foreign Dispatches.
c. Foreign Department Proceedings.
d. Political Department Proceedings.
e. Governor General's Dispatches.
f. Home Department Proceedings.
g. India Foreign Proceedings.
h. Political and Secret Home Correspondence.
i. Secret Letters and enclosures.
j. Political and Secret Memoranda. (Native States and Northern frontiers)
k. Parliamentary Papers, Official Diaries and Secret Reports.

For consulting these records, one must submit his application to the Director, National Archives of India, New Delhi under the Archives Research Rules.

India Office Library, London:

Very important original source material on Jammu and Kashmir is available in the India Office Library, London. This material pertains to:

a. Political Dispatches of India.
b. Political Letters of India.
c. Political and Secret Memoranda.
d. Secret and Political Letters.
e. Political and Secret Home Correspondence.

All these records are bound in hundreds of volumes and can be consulted by research scholars sponsored by Indian universities.

London Archives:

Archival source material on the modern period of Kashmir is preserved in the British Records Office.

London and India Office Library. These archives are listed as under:

a. Indian State Papers. These are confidential files pertaining to the affairs in the Indian States including Kashmir.
b. Political and Secret Records. (1880-1902). These files contain secret and confidential reports about Kashmir.
c. Foreign Proceedings. (1846-1924). Information about Kashmir is contained in these files.

Newspapers and Journals:

Newspapers and Journals are important source material for modern period of Kashmir. Very rare collection of newspapers and journals are preserved in:

1. India Office Library.
2. National Library, Kolkotta.
3. State Archives, Jammu.
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18.

GENESIS OF THE READING ROOM PARTY:

In 1925, the Kashmiri Pandits launched the All Kashmiri Pandit Association for safe-guarding their existing privilege rights. At the instance of Molvi Mohammad Abdullah, Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar also applied for registration of the All Kashmiri Muslim Uplift Association, which was granted by the Dogra administration reluctantly. This association persuaded Muslims to seek education. For his mission, Gilkar Sahab obtained the support of Khwaja Abdul Ghani Nengro and Khwaja Ghulam Hasan Saboon and a few other educated young men. They would go to the mosques, give lectures and distribute the newspapers published in Lahore which would mention some news about the Kashmiri Muslims. This Association obtained the patronage of Maulana Ahmad Ullah Hamadani and opened about several night schools for Muslim education. (*Tarikh Aqwam-i-Kashmir*, Munshi Mohammad Din Fauq – V.2 pp. 450-452.) This Association was the fore-runner of the Reading Room Party.

In order to read news-papers from Lahore, these educated young men would go the house of Mohammad Sikander, Post and Telegraph Master who had reserved a portion of his house as Post Office at Syed Ali Akbar, Srinagar. He is the first patron of these unemployed educated Muslim young men, who have been described as the pioneers of the Reading Room Party (*Kashmiris Fight for Freedom* V.I Muhammad Yusuf Saraf. P. 454) The genesis of the Reading Room can be attributed to Molvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, who would write articles about the sad plight of the Kashmiri Muslims and send them for publication to various newspapers. Munshi Mohammad Din Fauq, would get them published in various newspapers at Lahore and his own papers from Sialkot and Lahore. Khwaja Ghulm Nabi Gilkar, was worked like a mag-

net assembling members and supporters is one of the real founder of Reading Room Party. Molvi Bashir Ahmad and Khwaja Mohammad Rajab who whole heartedly supported the activities of Gilkar Sahib and Khwaja Mohammad Sikander, Post and Telegraph Master, Mohalla Syed Ali Akbar who allowed them to use his residence to sit and read papers, are also the other real founders. (*Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Mohammad Yusuf Saraf, p. 354)

In the beginning the *modus operandi* of the members of the Reading Room Party was to read papers like *Muslim Outlook*, the *Siyasat* the *Inquilab* Lahore, the *Indian Statesman*, London; United India and Indian States, Pondicherry, Kashmiri *Musalman*, *Maktoob-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, the Alfazal, Qadian, and the Kashmiri Magazine Lahore. Most of the articles published in these were written by Molvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil. At a latter stage, Hakim Ghulam Saffdar and Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai also wrote articles for news-papers under pseudonym.

On May 8, 1930 at a *Rasam-Oul* ceremony of a lady related to Khawaja Mohammad Sikander, Post and Telegraph Master, the formal establishment of the Reading Room was announced with Khawaja Mohammad Rajab as President and Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar as Secretary. The first five members organizing committee to carry on the attitudes of the Reading Room consisted of Molvi Bashir Ahmad, Munshi Nasir-uddin, khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar, Khwaja Mohammad Rajab and Mohammad Yahya Rafiqui. (*Bouquet*, Zakir-uddin, p. 126, *Ghulam Nabi Gilkar* a research paper laid Rafiq Khan, Los Angeles. USA). It is also mentioned that Munshi Nasir-uddin is the first person who contributed Rs. 4 and a half with Molvi Bashir who donated Rs. 5/- at the time of its inauguration. The second collection made on Eid day amounted to Rs. 90/- collected by Molvi Bashir Ahmad. With this amount some furniture was purchased and kept in a house in Kashgari Masjid, Qalamdan Pora. Probably the house belonged to some one who was named as Ismail. (*Bouquet*, Zahir-uddin p.125)

The members tried hard to invite other educated Muslim young men to attend meetings. It was decided to meet every day and chalk out programmes for future action. In order to meet expenses, during its initial financial drive, a sum of Rs. 82/- was collected. It was decided to approach the Kashmiri Muslims for moral and financial support. The

Reading Room Party also created an underground political cell under the guidance of Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Mohammad Rajab. Soon the Party succeeded in obtaining financial support of Khwaja Saad-uddin Shawl, Molvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, Agha Sayyid Hussain Shah Jalali, Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, Molvi Zia-uddin, Khwaja Assad Ullah and Pir Mohammad Maqbool (*Freedom Struggle in Kashmir.* F. M. Hassnain p. 72)

Having succeeded in setting up a base camp for political activities in the shape of the Reading Room, its members established contacts with news papers from outside Kashmir. They established their contact with Sir Bannerji, editor of the Indian States, London, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Maulana Assad Subhani and some members of the Pan-Islamic Movement. (*Kashmiris Struggle for Freedom* – Mohammad Yusuf Saraf. p. 355.) The editors of Muslim Newspapers at Lahore were already at the back of the Reading Room Party. A great Kashmiri historian, Munshi Mohammad Din Fauq, agreed to edit special newspapers to bring to light the miserable conditions of Kashmiri Muslims. These newspapers were published in thousands and smuggled through trucks and cars entering Srinagar form Rawalpindi. The Maharaja imposed ban on these papers such as *Kashmiri Mazloom, Kashmiri Magazine, Maktoob-i-Kashmir,* but Munshi Fauq went on publishing newspapers with different names. Thus, the wave of political awakening began to blow in Kashmir. The Maharaja employed Hindu and Pandit writers like Pandit Gwash-Lal to accuse Muslims of overthrowing rule of the Dogra Maharaja.

Sheikh Mohammasd Abdullah reached Srinagar in April 1930 from Aligarh and applied for a job. But his application was rejected on the plea that he was over-aged. As such, he joined as a teacher in the Islamia High School. Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and other members of the Reading Room Party approached him to join them but he refused to accept their offer. (*Tarikh Jang-i-Azadi.* Munshi Nasir-uddin p.84). We are also informed by Jallal-uddin Geologist:

> *Late Khwaja Sader ud Din Sahib handed over to us a post card written by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself in reply to invitation letter sent to him by Mr. Qurashi to join Reading Room. In the post card Sheikh Sahib has categorically regretted that he being a government employee, has his limitations to associate himself with the Reading Room group. Anybody can see the photo copy of this letter in the said book titled "Profiles of Abdullah" by F A Aba. Given these facts it is clear that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was not member of Reading Room not to speak of founder member as claimed by Mehraj ud Din Farooqi in Greater Kashmir.*

In Feb 1931 Sheikh Abdullah joined as a Second Teacher in the Government School, Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan, Srinagar. After about a month he was transferred to the Government School Muzaffarabad. After resigning from the post of a teacher in April 1931, he came back to Srinagar. Sheikh Sahab was approached by Khwaja Mohammad Rajab and Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Molvi Bashir Ahmad to join the Reading Room Party. After having agreed, he took over the Sectary-ship from Gilkar Sahib. In a meeting, Khwaja Mohammad Rajab was elected as President with Sheikh Abdullah as General Sectary. At this moment the Reading Room were shifted to the house of Mufti Zia-ud Din at Fateh Kadal. Among the members of the new Committee the names of Hakim Ali, Peerzada Ghulam Rasool, Peerzada Ahmad Shah Fazili, Hakim Ghulam Murtaza and Mufti Jallal-uddin are prominent. (*Aatish-i-Chinar*, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah p. 34) After a month or so the Reading Room Party was re-organized. In the new setup Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was elected President of the Reading Rom Party with Khwaja Mohammad Rajab as Secretary. In this meeting, a new Managing Committee consisting of Mufti Jallal-uddin, Hakim Ali, Master Ghulam Rasool, Pirzada Ahmad Shah Fazili and Hakim Ghulam Murtaza was constituted. *(Kashmiris fights for Freedom.* Mohammad Yusuf Saraf. P. 354.) The above clearly shows that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is not among the founding members of the Reading Room Party, which existed earlier and which had been organized on 8th May 1930.

It was not possible to locate an anti-Maharaja office permanently at one place. All such political activities were carried out under camouflage. As such the Reading Room changed its location several times. Initially, in May 1930 it existed in the house of Khwaja Mohammad Sikander Post and Telegraph Master. Mohalla Sayed Ali Akbar (*Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Mohammad Yusuf Saraf V.I. p. 254). After that it did exist in Mohalla Haji Rather, Kachigari Masjid. After a few months of

been given 22. Turtle doves appear in the title and lyrics of a spiritual from the Georgia Sea Islands.

Oriental Turtle Dove

The Oriental Turtle Dove or Rufous Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia orientalis*) is a member of the bird family Columbidae, doves and pigeons.

Names

Both the names Oriental Turtle Dove or Rufous Turtle Dove have been used for this species. It has been suggested that the name Rufous Turtle Dove should be used for the western form *meena*, and Oriental Turtle Dove for the nominate *orientalis*.

Taxonomy

Oriental Turtle Dove has two distinct migratory northern races, *S. o. orientalis* in the central Siberian taiga, and *S. o. meena* in open woodland in central Asia. There are also two non-migratory southern races. Two other races have been described from East Asian islands.

Morphology

This small species is very similar in plumage to its European counterpart, the Turtle Dove. It is a little larger than that species, particularly in the case of *orientalis*, about the same size as a Collared Dove. It shares the black and white striped patch on the side of its neck, but the breast is less pink, and the orange-brown wing feathers of Turtle Dove are replaced with a browner hue, and darker centres. The tail is wedge shaped, like the Turtle Dove. The flight is more relaxed and direct than that of its relative.

Differences between the Forms Orientalis *and* Meena

Differences in the pattern of the tail in the forms *S. o. orientalis* and *S. o. meena* have been widely reported (*orientalis* having a grey tip to the tail and more black in the outer web of the outer tail-feathers, *meena* having a white tip to its tail like Turtle Dove and less black in the outer web of the outer tail-feathers). However, these are not consistent differences: both forms can have white or grey tail-bands, and *orientalis* can have little black in the outer webs of the outer tail-feathers.

Vocalisations

The call is quite different from the purr of the Turtle Dove. It is a four-syllable *her-her-oo-oo*.

Status and Distribution

The westernmost race, *meena*, breeds just into the Western Palearctic region.

19.

KHWAJA ABDUL SALAM RAFIQI

The Rifiqi clan of Kashmir is among the notable clans of Kashmir, founded by Khwaja Sangeen, a native of Ishwar in Khurasan. His real name was Khwaja Jalal-uddin, who got built a mosque, basically using stones, in Mohalla Alauddin Pora in Srinagar. As the stones are called *Sang*, Khawaja Jalal-uddin came to be called Khwaja Sangeen.

His grand-son, Khwaja Tahir Rafiqi excelled in trade and had his business establishments in Srinagar as well as in Lahore. The Mughal Emperor Akbar, who occupied the kingdom of Kashmir through deceit in 1581, bribed the Kashmiri nobles through the grants of *Jagirs*. At that time it was Khwaja Tahir Rafiqi, who refused to become a stooge of the Mughal Emperor. He had only one daughter, named Bibi Mariam, who was married with Shaikh Ahmad, who also was a schism of this very family. The Rafiqi clan is the progeny of this union. The Rafiqis live in Srinagar, Islamabad, Bandipore and Bhadrawah. This clan has produced several prominent, scholars, poets, saints, doctors, traders and nobles.

One of the notable Rafiqi noble, Khwaja Habib-ullah Rafiqi, migrated from Kashmir to Noorpur Punjab during the Sikh rule (1819-1846). Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi was born at Noorpore in 1879. At that period of time his father Khwaja Badr-uddin Rafiqui was serving as a Municipal Commissioner in Dalhousie. He was placed under an Imam to learn the Holy Quran, which he memorized at the age of eleven. After it, he learnt Persian, Urdu and English. At the age of 18, he married his cousin and became the *Imam* of Jamia Masjid. After it, he was become a Municipal Councilor in Noorpore.

DALHOUSIE:

In Dalhousie there was a park built by the British Commissioner with the sign board: *"Indians and dogs not allowed"*. This notice board attracted the attention of Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi, who could not bear this insult to his countrymen. He not only got this board removed but also broke it into pieces with his boots. The British Commissioner, after hearing this news, got him arrested. This incident gave a big shock to Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi instigating a rebel in him. He began to hate the British who had enslaved India through deceipt and diplomacy.

SRINAGAR:

The condition having become difficult for him at Dalhousie, he came to Kashmir in 1894 along with his wife and two sons. He built a house in his ancestral locality in Fateh Kadal, Srinagar. Here, in Kashmir, he witnessed ugly sciences of the Dogra slavery. The Muslims who constituted 95% of the total population in the Valley were treated as dumb driven cattle laboring under poverty. They worked as tillers of land and artisans, weaving shawls and carpets. The Maharaja would take 80% of the land produce, thus keeping the peasants half-starved. As such, many Kashmiri would migrate towards the plains of Punjab to earn livelihood during winter months.

Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi found that the Kashmiri Muslims were unjustly abused by the Hindu Maharaja. He urged the *Mirwaiz* to encourage the education among the Muslims. On his own part, he decided to publish a news-magazine, *Al-Rafiqi*, giving details about miserable plight of the Kashmiri people. In 1895, the first issue of the *Al-Rafiq* was published from Srinagar, Kashmir. It contained articles on history, education, morals and agriculture and some pages were reserved on Urdu and Kashmiri poetry. On the whole it depicted that the Kashmiri Muslims were leading a life of ignorance, slavery and degradation under the alien Dogra *Raj*. In its next issue, the *Al-Rafiq* published in article about the sale of Kashmir by the British into the slavery of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. It also pin-pointed that the Kashmiri Muslims were deliberately kept ignorant by the Maharaja and his agents of repression. It also contained a protest about using Muslim mosques as godowns for storage of rice and military armament. The two issue of

the *Al-Rafiq* provoked resentment against the Dogra *Raj* and the Maharaja ordered confiscation of the news-paper as well as the *Tahfa Kashmir Press*, where this paper was published. Sensing danger to his life Khwaja Abdul Salam fled away leaving his wife and 2 sons to Sailkot a city under the British and out of the State boundary.

SIALKOT:

Now, free to express his anger and resentment against the Dogra *Raj*, he began publication of the *Al-Rafiq* from Sialkot. It was easy to smuggle this newspaper into the State boundary from that place which is situated about 18 miles from Jammu, the winter capital of the State. In his writings, Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqui incited feelings of the Kashmiri Muslims against the Dogra *Raj*. He even started making mockery of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) for his orthodoxy, in these words:

> "Maharaja Pratap Singh has become a *Kut-Putli*, in the hands of the Brahmana priests. As advised by them, he refuses to see the face of any Muslim in the morning, terming it as ominous." "The Maharaja is induced by the priests to do *Bhaga-Puja* vaginal worship every morning." "For long life, the Brahman priests have told the Maharaja to drink cow's urine every day." "In order to remove his brother Raja Amar Singh, from the scene, the Maharaja resorts to sorcery and Tantra."

After seeing these insulting writings against him being published in the *Al-Rafiq*, the Maharaja made an appeal to the British Governor General to restrain Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi for hurling insults on him and inciting his subjects to rebel against him. He also pleaded that it was the duty of the British to protect the Indian princes, who were serving as pillars of the British *Raj*. He also requested that Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi be arrested and given a stringent punishment.

SHIMLA:

The Governor General, ordered the Governor of Punjab to put restrictions on Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi, who sensing this danger, migrated to Shimla, where the Viceroy would camp during the summer months. Now, his banishment to Shimla, convinced him that the British

imperialism extends protection to the Indian princes. Hence, he started his campaign of irritating both the British and the Maharaja from Shimla. Now, in his *Al-Rafiq*, he started writing articles, demanding Self-Rule for the Indians. He wrote that it was birthright of the Kashmiris to obtain a responsible government from the Naharaja. In the same way, it was birthright of the Indians to obtain Self-Rule from the British, who have become our rulers.

Naturally, the Government put him under surveillance. The intelligence people started harassing him in one way or the other. As the *Al-Rafiq* being published from Shimla had attracted a good number of readers in the country. The Governor General ordered his banishment to Calcutta.

CALCUTTA:

As usual, Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi did not hesitate his anti-British activities from Calcutta. At the same time, he met several prominent Muslims in India and impressed upon them to undertake educational projects for the Indian Muslims. Adverse reports against him went on pouring from the intelligence agencies. He was arrested for his seditious activities and imprisoned in the Calcutta jail. He had established his contacts with the Bengali revolutionaries who pleaded his case in the High Court of Calcutta. Subsequently, he was released from Jail.

RANGOON:

Now, the British Government in India decided to exterminate him from the Indian soil. Accordingly in 1903, he was banished to Rangoon in Burma. But, he continued publishing his *Al-Rafiq* form Rangoon also. In it, he launched a campaign against the British as well against the Dogra Maharaja. He managed to get his monthly news-magazine printed in the Nizami Press, Badayoon, India and get it circulated from Rangoon. In order to maintain himself, he engaged himself in commerce and it took him some time to settle.

BAHADUR SHAH ZAFFAR:

At Rangoon he came across the graves of Sultan Bahadur Shah Zaffar the last independent Mughal Emperor of India and E,press, Zeenat Mahal. Assuming the duties of a *Matawali*, he laid a wreath on the graves, lit lamps and candles on the grave of the Emperor, who had

been exiled by the British from Delhi in 1857. Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi wrote letters to the rulers of Russia, Germany, France and others, informing them as to how the British after murdering the crown-princes had banished Sultan Bahadur Shah Zaffar and his queen to Rangoon, He also wrote that the graves were in a dilapidated condition and the British Government has intentionally insulted the last independent Emperor on India even after his death. He get renovated both the graves from donations received from the general public. While creating political awareness among the people, he wrote and lectured on Self-Rule to be granted to the subjugated people under the British *Raj*. His activities alarmed the authorities, who put him in jail. Now, a strong case against him was initiated in court, alleging sedition, rebellion and insurgency to overthrow the British Government. During his trial, the prosecutor demanded a death sentence for him. He felt alarmed and decided to flee from the jail. Through his wit and wisdom, he succeeded in escaping from the prison and reaching Jakarta, which was a Dutch colony at that time.

JAKARTA:

After escaping from the prison, Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi changed his dress and reached the sea harbor in the garb of an Indoneasian coming from *Haj*. Boarding a sea ship, sailing towards the Malay States, he landed at Batavia, which was the capital of Sumatra Island at that time. This city is now known as Jakarta. As he was well versed in Arabic, he found an asylum in a mosque where he started performing his duties as an *Imam*.

The British Government came to know of his escape, very late. However, their intelligence was put on the track and they located him in Batavia. The British approached the Dutch authorities for his arrest and repatriation. Accordingly, the Dutch police arrested him and the case went on in the court of law. Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi pleaded that he had committed no crime in India or in the Dutch dominion of Borneo or Sumatra. As he had not violated any law of the land, the Governor General of the Dutch dominion set him free, but ordered that he must leave Batavia and settle in Timur.

KOPANG:

After reaching Timur, Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi, established a

trading firm at Kopang and succeeded in attaining wealth and status. He took a second wife in Kopang and also succeeded in obtaining Dutch citizenship.

In 1927, Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqui wished to see his first wife and sons in Kashmir, His application for grant of permission was rejected by the Viceroy of India. As such, he managed that his two sons, Khwaja Mohammad Yahya and Khwaja Mohammad Ishaq to reach Kopang and meet him there, occasionally. Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqui, advised his sons to work for welfare of the Kashmiri Muslims, for which purpose, he made special financial arrangements. He passed away on the 2nd of July 1941 survived with one daughter in Jakarta and two sons in Kashmir.

It was during the Second World War, in March, 1942 the Japanese bombard the city of Jakarta. In this heavy bombardment the mansion of Khwaja Abdul Salam Rafiqi also got destroyed.

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20

PANDIT MOHAN LAL AGHA HASAN JAN KASHMIRI (1812-1877)

It was in 1845, when Queen Victoria invited Agha Hassan Jan Kashmiri *alias* Mirza Quli Kashmiri to a royal ball in London that he declared that his birth name is Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri. This declaration makes this Kashmiri, a fascinating personality. In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, this Kashmiri icon was a politician and a scholar with something of the poet and artist in him. Researches conducted into the life and works of Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri connect him to the Zutshi Pandits of Kashmir. His ancestor, Pandit Lachdii Ram Zutshi migrated from Kashmir to live at Delhi during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan (1627-1658). His great grand-father, Pandit Mani Ram, *alias* Pandit Shiv Nath held a high rank at the Mughal Court during the reign of Shah Alam (1759-1806). The Emperor bestowed upon him the title of Raja, together with a *Jagir* worth Rupees twenty lakh. The pedigree of the Zutshis reconstructed by B. N. Sharga is as under:

Pandit Shiv Nath Zutshi

Pandit Shamboo Nath Zutshi

Pandit Brahm Nath Zutshi

Pandit Brahm Nath Zutshi was affectionately called as Budh Singh by his Sikh mother. As he was having a good knowledge of Persian language, he succeeded in getting a job as interpreter to Sir. M. Elphinston, who later on, became the Governor of Bombay province. During services under the British, he had to work in Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan among the Muslims. Having abandoned orthodoxy, he lived a lavish life, eating flesh and enjoying drinks. From his Pandit wife, who belonged to the Kouls of Gawaliar, he had two sons Pandit Mohan Lal and Pandit Kedar Nath, both born at Delhi in the years 1812 and

1814. Both of them were brought up in a cosmopolitan atmosphere and free thinking.

Pandit Mohan Lal was taught Urdu and Persian by local Muslim *Molvis*. Besides studying the *Boostan* and the *Gulistan* of Saadi Shirazi, he learnt poetic compositions of Rumi and Omar Khayam. The *Molvis* also taught him elementary Arabic and some verses of the *Holy Quran*. He joined the English class in 1829 at the Persian College at Delhi that was founded in 1792 during Mughal rule. This college had acquired a large accession of income by the munificent gift of Rs. 1, 70,000 from Nawab 'Itimad-ud-Daula, formerly minister at Lucknow, who is buried in the premises of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. The English class, later developed into the Delhi English College. Pandit Mohan Lal studied here for three years. He was perhaps the first Kashmiri Pandit to have studied English and standing first in his class.

In 1831, The British East India Company, which has established its authority in the North East of India appointed Sir Alexander Burnes as its chief spy to gather information in the countries lying between India and the Caspian. He was directed to appear as a private individual with a small retinue, maintaining a character of poverty.

His deputation was a part of great design of the British to penetrate into Afghanistan, Central Asian Sultanates and Tibet with the dual purpose of *"introducing its costly products of looms as well as the diffusion of the Gospel of Christ among the dense population"*. The final aim was to subjugate these Muslims countries under the British *Raj*. It was the British Secret Service which selected through Charles Travelyan, a very brilliant and ambition student, Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri to accompany Sir Alexander Burnes. Having joined the British Secret Service in 1831 at the age of 19, he assumed the name of Mirza Quli Kashmiri as the Persian interpreter to Sir Alexander Burnes on a salary of Rs 1,000 per annum. The earliest classmate of Pandit Mohan Lal was Shahamat Ali, later the author of *An Historical Account of the Sikhs and Afghans,* who was Persian Secretary with the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Claud M. Wade, to Peshawar in 1839. Shahamat Ali accompanied Sir Claud in the military expedition on whish he was sent to conduct Shahzada Timur, the eldest son of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, with the Sikh auxiliary force, by the Khaibar Pass to Kabul.

The British had succeeded in installing, their stooge, Shah Shuja on

the throne of Kabul. This action of the British was resented by the other war-lords in Afghanistan, who were busy in engineering assaults on the British interests. The first task of Pandit Mohan Lal, who now was known as Mirza Quli Kashmiri, to recruit his agents to bring about defections among the Afghan resistance movement. He accomplished this difficult task with tact and intelligence. Posing himself belonging to a noble Kashmiri Muslim family, he married a girl from the royal house. Now he was free from all dangers by entering into intrigues with the people among, whom he was going to spy, with an assumed name of Mirza Quli Kashmiri.

Both Sir Alexander Burnes and Pandit Mohan Lal explored Central Asia in 1832-4 for procuring political and military intelligence. During his travels, Pandit Mohan Lal, who now had assumed the *pseudo* name of Mirza Quli Kashmiri, would first seek a wife from the influential family of the region so that his matrimonial alliance would provide him with ample protection from the orthodox Muslims. Taking advantage of the new adopted creed, he led a life of pleasure with several wives. After his return from Central Asia Pandit Mohan Lal published a journal of his tour in 1834. Twelve years later, this work was re-published with the addition of his travels in Europe. At this same time, he had published a work on the life of Doost Mohammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul, in two volumes.

After his Central Asian tour Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri *alias,* Mirza Quli Kashmiri was promoted as the Commercial Agent for the British on the Indus and Political Assistant to Sir Burnes in Kabul. Unlike Burnes, he survived the massacres of 1841 and continued to keep Calcutta informed of events in the Afghan capital from the house of a merchant where he had taken refuge. His reports contained many strong and cogent criticisms of the behavior of British officers in Kabul.

During the first Anglo-Afghan War, he was instrumental in setting up and expanding the British intelligence network in Afghanistan. He found out and handed over to the British secret letters written by the rulers of Kandahar to Merab Khan, the ruler of Baluchistan, exhorting him not to allow passage to the invading British army. He managed to obtain the services of very important functionaries for spying like Mohammad Tahir, Haji Khan Kakari, Abdul Majeed Khan, Akhundzada Ghulam and Mullah Nasooh in Kandahar and Sardar Abdul Rashid Khan,

a nephew of the Emir Sardar Doost Mohammad Khan in Ghazni. He played a major role in securing the release of British prisoners held hostage in Bamiyan. In the meanwhile, he married several ladies among the elite families of Baluchistan and Afghanistan. On the second of November 1841 the residence of Sir Alexander Burnes in Kabul was stormed by a mob and both he and his brother Charles were killed. But Pandit Mohan Lal jumped out of a window and escaped but was apprehended soon thereafter. He saved his life by reciting the *Kalimah* as Mirza Quli Kashmiri. He was awarded the Order of the Empire and made a Knight of the Persian Lion.

During his interaction with the Shia Muslims of Iran, he felt highly impressed with Persian history and culture. He now embraced Islam in a true way at the hands of a *Mujtahid,* who gave him a new name, Agha Hassan Jan Kashmiri. As he, undertook long journeys to Arabian countries in connection with his job much against the wishes of the highly orthodox Pandit community, he was excommunicated from the Shiva cult in 1834. It was a normal routine with him to manage a new wife from different clans. Now, he took a maiden from the royal family of Iran, as his wife. Nawab Mirza 'Ala-ud-Din Khan (1833-1884), the ruler of the Loharu State near Delhi, whose pen-name was *Alai* calls Mohan Lal, in a Persian poem, as Agha Hassan Jan.

In 1843, Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri, *alias* Mirza Quli Kashmiri *alias*, Agha Hassan Jan Kashmiri retired on a pension of Rs.1,000 per annum. Now, he embarked on a long journey to Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and Germany. Shah Kamran of Heart was delighted with his Persian. Mirza Abbas of Iran created him, a Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, The king of Afghanistan, granted him an Order of the Durrani Empire. Maharaja Ranjit Singh presented him with Rs. 500 and a robe of honor. The Mughal Emperor Mohammad Akbar Shah conferred upon him a *Khilat* with some jewels on a turban which His Majesty tied with his own hands. Agha Hasan Jan Kashmiri was well received in England and other countries in Europe. Queen Victoria invited him to a royal ball. Fredrick William IV of Prussia entertained him at a dinner in 1845. *It was during his conversation with Queen Victoria that he disclosed his birth name as Pandit Mohan Lal Kashmiri.*

After his European tour in 1846, Agha Hasan Jan Kashmiri published a revised work of his travels in Central Asian countries and Europe. During the turmoil in 1857 he manipulated and obtained his seventeenth wife, Haidri Begam, from the highly aristocratic and cultural family of Nawab Mirza Sher Mohammad Khan of Delhi. His favorite Wife, Haidri Begum was a Shia Muslim and a scholar. During the turmoil in 1857, she maintained a day book recording vividly the happenings and events in Delhi describing the atrocities committed by the British on the last Mughal Emperor. Her diary was later seized and confiscated by the British Government in India. At Ludhiana Agha Hasan Jan Kashmiri, built for the Shias what is known as Agha Hasan Jan's *Imambara.* Close by it there runs a road bearing his name.

Agha Hassan Jan Kashmiri's later years were spent in obscurity and financial troubles. But inspite of his high status and fame he became a highly frustrated and isolated person because of his total boycott by his own community members. Even his close Pandit blood relations disowned him. He felt so much depressed and dejected.

Agha Hasan Jan Kashmiri died in 1877 at the age of 65, and was buried in Delhi in his garden called the Lal Bagh, near Azadpur on the Delhi-Panipat road. There is no tomb, but only a platform, said to contain the bodies of Agha Hassan Jan Kashmiri and his favorite wife Haidri Begam. The platform is in a dilapidated condition. The garden no longer belongs to his family.

At the time of his death he left behind five widows, four married daughters and three sons. He kept a diary of his life 1831 to his death in 1877. This diary has disappeared. Dr. Hari Ram Gupta says that a grandson of Pandit Mohan Lal is Agha Hyder Hasan of Hydarabad.

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21.

FARZI – A SAINT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH:

Farzi is a typical Kashmiri name adopted by the ladies. This very name, later changed to Farzana, then to, Zaib-un-Nisa then to Johanna and finally as Her Highness Begam Sumroo. In about 1753, a daughter was born to the second wife of Asad Khan, a Kashmiri, who maintained *Tawaif* inns in Meerut and Delhi. This baby girl was named Farzi and was brought up with care and luxury by her parents. At the age of five, she was put under a Mulla, who taught her Persian through study of the *Gulistan* and the *Bostan* of Saadi Shirazi. She was hardly 14 years old, when her father passed way. This Kashmiri family at Meerut consisted of Asad Khan's elder brother, his sons as well as the senior wife of Asad Khan, with an elder son. After his death both the mother as well as Farzi become subject to ill treatment from members of the household, who considered Farzi to be an illegitimate daughter of a concubine and not a real wife. Driven out of the house in 1760 both the mother and the daughter moved to Delhi. Here both of them were received with courtesy by Khanam Jan, a keeper of *Tawaif* inn of Chawri Bazar in the Jamia Masjid area. Farzi was put under a music and dance teacher to learn the art of enticing men. As time passed Farzi now named as Farzana developed herself into a beautiful young woman – a perfection of youth, grace and intelligence. She was perfect in the art of dancing as well as music. She could read and write in Persian, Hindustan and Urdu.

It was in 1773, that Walter Reinhardt Sumroo, the Governor of Agra fell for the charms of Farzana, He was a rich *Jagirdar*, who had been bestowed with the principality of Sardhana as a *Jagir* by Shah Alam, the Moghal Emperor of Delhi. He was already a married man

and had a son Louis Balthazar *alias* Zafaryab Khan, by his first wife Badi Bibi. However, Farzana was married to him according to the Muslim law. After her marriage, she moved to her husband's *Jagir* of Sardhana. Here, she had to look after a large and big principality consisting of a few thousand people, artisans and tillers of land as well as four battalions of mercenary soldiers. Her husband, Walter Reinhardt Sumroo would mostly stay at Agra, with his first wife and son and occasionally visit Sardhana to see Farzana.

Walter Reinhardt was a native of Salzburg, who had enlisted himself in 1763 as a soldier under the French in India. But shifting his loyalty, he had entered into the service of the British East India Company as a soldier of fortune, and resisted Clive in Chandernagar in 1757. Later, he shifted his loyalty to Mir Qasim of Bengal and trained his troops. It was here that he took the *nom de gurre* of Sombre or Sumroo. Later, he served under Shah Alam II, and obtained the principality of Sardhana as *Jagir* from him in 1773. Walter Reinhardt Sumroo died at Agra in 1778 and he was buried there by his widow, Begam Sumroo with proper funeral ceremony.

At that time, a petition was presented duly signed by thousand of her subjects including 82 British and French soldiers before Emperor Shah Alam II requesting that Begam Sumroo be installed as a successor to her husband. This petition was accepted. Thus began her career as a successful ruler, a commander of soldiers and an intelligent diplomat. At that time, Louis Balthanzar *alias* Zafaryab Khan the son of her husband by his first wife, made a claim to Sardhana, but his claim was rejected by the Emperor. However, the Begam took care to maintain the status of her step-son and provided him and his wife with maintenance allowance fit for a prince and a princess.

On her installation as the new ruler of Sardhana, she reorganized her troops under the able to command of European commanders, Pooli, Baours Evans, Dudrenee and later a French soldier Le Vaisseau. The battalions were increased from four to six, with full military training and equipped with guns and cavalry. Begam Sumroo made Sardhana as her capital and got built a magnificent palace there, as well as new mansion for European commanders of her forces. She also got built new quarters for soldiers.

In 1783, a force of 30,000 Sikhs under Baghel Singh invaded Delhi and encamped at Tis Hazari. At that critical juncture, Shah Alam, The Emperor of Delhi approached Begam Sumroo for help. She played a role of diplomat by sending her emissaries to the Sikh commander offering a huge amount of money as ransom. The Sikhs went back to Punjab after receiving this money as well as other gifts from the Emperor of Delhi.

In 1787, she also came to the rescue of The Emperor Shah Alam, when he faced a rebellion, stirred up by Najaf Quli Khan at Gokalgarh, Seeing that the Emperor's troops were wavering in their resolve to attack the rebel leaders, she herself advanced at the head of her forces and opened fire on the rebels. Her brave action made Najaf Quli Khan to submit and ask her to bring about reconciliation between him and the Emperor. Thankful for her support, The Emperor Shah Alam adopted her as his *most beloved daughter* and presented precious jewels to her and by tilling her as *Zaib-un-Nisa*, meaning 'ornament of the women'. Subsequently, she built a palace in a garden in Chandni Chowk, New Delhi, now known as Bhagirath Palace.

In 1793, Le Vaisseau, one among her commanders proposed marriage to the Begam, which offer was accepted in secret. In the mean while, Louis Balthazar, *alias* Zafaryab Khan the son of her late husband, got intimation about the whole affair. With much anguish, he incited the other European commanders against Le Vaisseau. Subsequently he marched the head of the rebel troops to capture the Begam and Le Vaisseau. Both of them decided to flee from Sardhana and take refuge under the British East India Company. When they were about 3 miles away, they were ambushed by the rebel soldiers. Le Vaisseau put his pistal to his temple, fired and fell dead on the ground. The soldiers took Begam into Sardhana and kept under a gun for seven days deprived of food and water. Later on the advice of George Thomas a commander of her army, the soldiers agreed to install her again on the throne. They submitted a petition swearing in the name of God and Jesus Christ that they would remain loyal to her. Thus the Begam Sumroo was reinstalled. The British East India Company recognized her status as a ruler of a State, granting her the title of Her Highness.

In 1781, the Begam Sumroo embraced the Catholic faith in the Church of Agra. Her most cherished desire was to raise the most magnificent church in India. She did succeed in constructing the Basilica of Sardhana under the supervision of Anthony Reghlini, an architect form Italy. She assigned the sum of 100,000 rupees as a fund for its service and repairs; 50,000 rupees as another fund for the poor people Hindus and Muslims; and 100,000 rupees as a grant, for establishing a college. She sent to Rome 150,000 rupees to be distributed as a charity at the discretion of the Pope; and to the Archbishop of Canterbury she sent 50,000 rupees for the same purpose. She gave to the Bishop of Calcutta 100,000 rupees to provide teachers for the poor. She sent 60,000 rupees to Calcutta for distribution among the poor, and for the liberation of deserving debtors. To the Catholic missions at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras she donated 100,000 rupees each; and to that of Agra 50,000. She built a handsome chapel for the Roman Catholics at Meerut; and presented for its support a donation of 12,000 rupees; and 10,000 rupees, to meet the needs of poor natives.

In history, Her Highness Begam Sumroo is known as a benevolent, kind hearted and generous lady. She retained to the last, the grateful affections of thousands who were supported by her bounty and charity. After a brief illness she passed away in 1836 at the age of 86.

Recognizing her services to and devotion to the Holy Mother and the Holy Son the Pope Gregory XVI, presented the relics of the Holy Cross, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Thomas and St. Xavier to Begam Sumroo. All these relics are preserved in the Begam's St. Mary Church at Sardhana. She is now a Saint of the Roman Catholic Church. A relief in the Church depicts her, presenting a golden Chalice to the Pope during the blessing of the Church in 1829. Her church at Sardhana is dedicated to Mary and in it, we have the tomb of Begam Samru. Her statue is carved in brown marble, where she is dressed in a Muslim style with a Kashmiri shawl.

Bussy, the Governor General of the French East India in his letter to Marshal de Castries, Royal Minister of France, informs him about the Kashmiri origin of Begam Sumroo. G.M.D. Sufi in his monument work, *Kashir*, includes her among the notable women of Kashmir.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S LETTER TO BEGAM SUMROO:

To Her Highness the Begam Sumroo. My esteemed Friend.-

I cannot leave India without expressing the sincere esteem I entertain for your highness's character. The benevolence of disposition and extensive

charity with have endeared you to thousands, have excited in my mind sentiments of the warmest admiration; and I trust that you may yet be preserved for many years, the solace of the orphan and widow, and the sure resource of your numerous dependents.

To-morrow morning I embark for England; and my prayers and best wishes attend you, and all others who, like you, exert themselves for the benefit of the people of India.

I remain, with much consideration, Your Sincere friend

M. W. BENTINCK.

Calcutta, March 17, 1835.

22.

MOHAMMAD SUBHAN HAJAM

Prostitution as an institution has excited in Kashmir since ancient past. Kalhana, the historian has censured some of the kings like Kalasha, Kshemagupta, Uccala and Harsha for patronizing prostitutes, paramours and courtesans. It was Sultan Sikander who is reported to have banned prostitution, in his sultanate. However, this institution received inpetence during the Mughal occupation of Kashmir. Naming Kashmir as *Baag-i-khas* or the special garden, they used the Valley as a pleasure garden to entertain their guests in the Mughal gardens. Secondly, it became a practice, during their era to obtain the Kashmiri beautiful girls for marriage with *Subhedars, Mansabdars* and nobles. The Afghan period in Kashmir which started in 1753 was the worst period in this regard, when the Kashmiri slaves, both women and men were exported to Kabul.

In 1846 the then British Government in India, basically a trading company sold the Valley of Kashmir for Rs. 758 lakh to the Dogra Maharajas. As such, their first area was to recover that money from the naked, hungry and suffering Kashmiris. During the rule of the Maharajas (1846-1947) everything, save air and water was taxed. Robert Thrope and Walter Lawrence have provided us with information on taxes which include *Khutna* or circumcision fee and prostitution tax. The sale of young Muslim girls in Kashmir to established houses of ill-fame was both protected and encouraged by the Maharaja, because it costed only 103 rupees to obtain this license. The Dogra Maharajas not only supported but encouraged the institution of prostitution at Government level, as it brought then the much sought over money in the form of *Kanjur* tax.

The sale of Kashmiri girls was a profitable business venture for low caste people known as *Kanjur* among the Muslims. This class of people

worked as agents for supply of girls for the red lights cities outside Kashmir, such as Quetta, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow and Calcutta. In Srinagar city, the red light area of Maïsuma, Gawakadal and Tashwan, were most prominent.

In 1867, Arthur Brinkman, in his work – *the Wrongs of Kashmir,* indicted the government of the Maharaja, for patronizing prostitution in Kashmir. In 1868, Robert Thrope wrote that the Kashmiri girls were being forced into prostitution by the authorities with the idea of earning more and more revenue from licensing the flesh trade. A survey made by the Church Mission Society in Srinagar, revealed that during the years 1877 to 1879, the total number of patients treated with venereal diseases, recorded in the Mission Hospital comes to about 12,977 cases. Under directions of the British, the Maharaja's government conducted a survey which revealed that there were about 18715 licensed prostitutes carrying flesh trade in the Valley. The number of Kashmiri prostitutes outside the Valley in various cities of Northern India comes to more than sixty thousand.

The fourth Dogra ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the throne in 1925. Unlike, his predecessor, who was an orthodox Hindu, the new ruler was highly emancipated and modern. He encouraged compulsory education among the masses. He also introduced some reforms in taxation but did not abolish the prostitution tax and as such flesh trade thrived as usual in the early years of his reign. The political awakening ushered in after 1931 upheaval resulted in the ressurengence of the Kashmiri Muslims in the every sphere of its society. This awakening resulted in the emergence of several political leaders in the State, but none worked moral uplift of the Muslim society.

Mohammad Subhan Hajam is a Kashmiri icon, a reformer, a social activist and a visionary who succeeded in mobilizing public opinion for eradication of prostitution in Kashmir and succeeded in his mission during his life time. He owned his saloon near the present day Lal Chowk, Srinagar. Despite his meager income and frail physique, he was equipped with great moral courage to face all challenges.

In the first place, he composed poems in Kashmiri and Urdu, against prostitution, which was eating the vitals of the society. In his verses, he hurled insults and taunts on the pimps and prostitution. In his poetic compositions, termed as *Hidiyat-Nama* or guidelines, he exhorted the

people to remain away from the brothels. He wrote that these prostitutes are the main source of disturbing martial relations as well waste of money. Mohammad Subhan Hajam also compiled pamphlets, drawing attention of the Maharaja's government towards this menace which had engulphed people in venereal diseases. He appealed to the Maharaja to take serious notice of this malady and impose ban on it. These *Hidayat-Namas* were published in the local press. Secondly, Mohammad Subhan Hajam would meet religious leaders, influential people in the civil society and officials and seek their support in his mission. He would impress upon them to put pressure on the Maharaja in one way or the other. Thirdly, he himself comes forward picketing in the red light areas. He would lead a group of people, mostly young men, singing his poems and raising insulting and derogatory slogans against the *Kanjars* and *Kanjaris.*

Khwaja Mohammad Subhan Hajam was terrorized and attacked several times by the pimps and goons employed by keepers of the prostitution dens. In order to suppress his voice, several false cases were instituted against him in the courts of Srinagar. All these attacks on him were spearheaded by a rich and influential red light area chief known contemptuously as Khazir *Gaan*, his name being Khazir but *Gaan* or prostitution den holder. He would corrupt police officers to seek vengeance on Mohammad Subhan Hajam. But all these intimidating attacks could not succeed to bow down the crusader, who had now succeeded in winning the hearts of all sections of the society – Muslims, Pandits and Sikhs. He even received support from the Church Mission Society and Rev Tyndale Biscoe, the doyen of education in Kashmir.

It was Molvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, who raised the issue in the Praja Sabha in 1934 and proposed exacting of a law for the closure of prostitution houses in the State and ban on the flesh trade. In fact, he had raised his voice against this vice on behalf of Mohammad Subhan Hajam, who had succeeded in mobilizing support of the elite in society in his mission. Even the leaders of the Muslim Conference, came forward to help him by inviting the attention of Maharaja Hari Singh to issue orders for the ban of flesh trade in his State. Even the Viceroy of India asked the Maharaja to provide him detailed information, about the flesh trade in Kashmir.

In view of the landable efforts of Mohammad Subhan Hajam, the

Maharaja issued orders banning sale and purchase of women in the State and closure of red light areas in Srinagar as well as Jammu. He even ordered deputation of two Police officers to find and repatriate Kashmiri girls from the red light areas of Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta, Delhi and Lucknow.

The name of Mohammad Subhan, the great luminary of Kashmir, will be remembered in history for all times to come. He is a Kashmiri icon who single harded freed the State from the menace of prostitution. He is one amongst the heroes of Kashmir, and we Kashmiris are proud of him.

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23.

KASHMIRI VALOUR

It is a historical fact that Mahmud of Gaznah raided India seventeen times and his eleventh expedition was directed towards Kashmir. He humbled the rulers of the Punjab, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi but could not succeed in Kashmir, which was ruled by the queen, Didda Rani. When the snow began to fall heavily on the army of Mahmud, the Kashmiri soldiers fell upon the invaders. The victor of North India had to flee with humiliation.

Jonaraja tells us about another illustrious ruler of Kashmir whose military glory makes him a prototype of Alexander the Great. This world was too small for the exploits of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din. The Alexander of Kashmir extended his sway from Sind to Kashmir on the one side, and from Kangra to Iran on the other side.

It is related about him that he would not reckon that day in his life, which could not bring him conquests by the Kashmiris.

The important events in the life of Sultan Shahab-ud-din are worth notice. One relates to the offer of a cup of milk to him by a hermitess, said to be Lalleshwari, when he was still eshwari, when he was still a prince. It is pointed out that he became the ruler of the valley of Kashmir, due to her blessings. The second event relates to the defeat of the king of Delhi at the hands of the Sultan and marriage of the three daughters of the king Feroz Shah Tughluq with the crown prince, Hassan, the Sultan's brother, Qutab and the Sultan's Commander, Syed Hussain Bahadur.

It is given in the chronicles that the Sultan built about one thousand barracks for his soldiers. Incidentally during the ancient period of the history of Kashmir, our soldiers used to be attired in red trousers,

like the soldiers of Napoleon. Sultan Shahab-ud-Din was a great warrior, whose army and its commanders were all Kashmiris, except one.

Before commenting upon the above reference, it may be pointed out that Manouchi had access to the records of the Mughals and was permitted by the Emperor to translate whatever he chose, into Portuguese. It is admitted that the authenticity of his means of information is unquestionable. Earlier, the well-known Al-Beruni had also mentioned that the Kashmiris "are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and, therefore, take always much care to keep a stronghold upon the entrances and roads leading into it."

If the Kashmir s were "very brave" and anxious about "the strength of their country", prior to the Moghal occupation, what happened to them after 1588 A.D? How did the term `Kashmiri' came to stand for a coward, during the early rule of the Dogra Maharajas? The answer to this question could be that centuries of foreign yoke, tyranny and slavery had made them the "dumb driven cattle". After being disarmed, they were made to suffer under the Mughals, the Afghans, the Sikhs and the Dogra rulers. Their alien masters engrossed themselves in looting them and extortion become the order of the day. The Mughals created division among the majority of the Kashmiris, by sowing seeds of disruption among the various schools of thought in Islam.

After having divided the Muslims into the two compartments, they would alternately, depute a Shia or a Sunni muslims Subedar to Kashmir Having broken the unity among the Kashmiris, they ground down their character and reduced them to the status of their planquine-bearers. The Kashmiris became a nation of collies and laborers and this continued right upto the end of the rule of the Dogra Maharajas, who used to depute them us a carriers of food grains to the frontier regions of Gilgit.

It is against such degradation that Sheikh Mohammad Abdulah, raised his voice and the Kashmiris rose from deep slumber to fight the autocracy of the Mahrajas. Now, we are on the match towards regaining our past glory and grandeur. There is no denying the fact that we have been conquered and re-conquered by the invaders, who murdered oppressed and enslaved our ancestors, "Our alien masters have so ground the life and heart out of us that our better selves have been

crushed". But we have our roots in history and we still cherish the memories of Lalitaditya, Shihab-ud-din and Budshah, Lalitaditya subdued Gandhara, Sind, Tibet and Northern India, while Shihab-ud-din subdued all territories right upto Delhi. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was kind hearted, tolerant and generous but also a strong king. "He forestalled Akbar in toleration, justice and consolidation of royal authority". It is a fact that, in short, Akabar was the Budshah of India, who had imitated Zain-ul-Abidin.

It may be recalled that during the rule of the queen Didda, the Northern parts of India became the raiding targets of Mahmud of Gazhah. He invaded India seventeen times but failed only twice and both these two expeditions were directed against Kashmir. During his eleventh expedition, which was directed against the Queen Didda, he failed miserably. After having reached Poonch, he directed his forces to march toward the Valley. Didda Rani had made ample arrangements to safeguard her frontier posts and her forces were ready to meet the invader. When his forces reached the outskirts of Shopian, nature came to the rescue of Kashmir, in the shape of heavy snow fall. There Gaznah forces suffered a great loss and hundreds of the invading soldier perished.

Manouchi was a native of Venice and chief physician of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb for about forty years. He describes the Kashmiris in these words:

> *"The very people who inhabit that delightful country have nothing of the effeminacy and slothfulness of the Indians. They are robust and laborious, exercised in tilling their lands, and very brave in war."*

This Mahmud had to run away with his army. Mahmud led a second expedition against the kingdom of Kashmir in about 1022 A.D. due to two reasons. He had failed in first expedition and now wanted to wipe out this stigma from his face. Secondly, the Shahi king,

Tirlochanpala had taken refuge in the Valley and Mahmud wanted to punish the refugee as well as his protector. Mahmud made ample preparations for this attack and collected nearly twenty thousands additional soldiers to supplement his regular army. He gave a call of Jahad or the holy war, against the Kashmiris. But he faced a still more stern

resistance from the defenders.

The military exploits of Lalitaditya and Shahab-ud-Din, two most daring spirits of Kashmir, have been narrated earlier, Though Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin was not fond of military glories, he would not tolerate weakening of the Kashmir Sultanate. Taking advantage of turmoil in Kashmir, the Sultan of Kashgar had wrested Ladakh and Tibet from Kashmir and now, he wanted to annex the Valley of Kashmir also with his central Asian Sultanate. He marched with a huge force towards Ladakh, which consisted of one Lakh foot soldiers and fifty thousand horsemen. The Kashmir army was commanded by Mohammad Magray, Masood Thokur, and the Raina brothers. One of the famous historians Malik Hyder of Chodura, has mentioned in his Tarikh-i-Kashmir that on a review by the Sultan, his army consisted of one lakh infantry and thirty thousand cavalry. Even though the forces of the Sultan of Kashgar were double the number of the Kashmiri forces, yet they could not resist the attack of the Kashmiri forces. The Sultan of Kashgar was routed near Shizi and accepted the suzerainty of Zain-ul-Abidin. As a token of his obedience, he presented his son, to be kept as a hostage in Kashmir.

Jasrat Khan Khokhar, who had carved out a small principality in the Punjab, approached Sultan-Zain-ul-Abidin for military aid. He had two aims and these were, the extension of his rule in whole of the Punjab and then conquest of Delhi so as to become the King of India. The Sultan himself proceeded with the Kashmiri army towards the Punjab and helped Jasrat Khokhar to conquer the remaining areas in the Punjab. After having consolidated his sway in the Punjab, with the help of the Kashmir troops, the Khan marched towards Delhi, which was ruled by Sultan Bahlol Lodhi at the time. Bahlol had often conducted raids on Punjab and Jasrat wanted to teach him a lesson. Though he could not defeat Bahlol still he forced Bahlol to come to terms. After various battles the following terms were settled:

a) The Agreement entered into with Feroz Shah Tuglaq was rectified and it was accepted that the territories between Peshawar and the river Sutluj be considered under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Kashmir, as in the past.

The poet of Kashmir 'Mahjoor' speaks out his pride about the cultural heritage of Kashmir, in these words:

"Have you ever reflected upon your grand culture? Even Persia and India bowed their heads before The wisdom and intellect of your ancestors."

It was agreed that the country from Kashmir to Sirhind belonged to the kingdom of Kashmir and Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin was the ruler of this part of India. Jasrat Khan Khokhar king of the Punjab, as an ally of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

From the above, it emerges that the Kashmiris helped Jasrat Khan Khokar, with the aim of re-establishing their claim right upto Sirhind, which town has been accepted as the border town of the Kashmir Kingdom, during the rule of Feroz Shah Tuglaq of Delhi. It also shows that the king of the Punjab considered the Sultan of Kashmir, as his overlord and Suzerain. While Kashmiri historians like Haider Malik, Jonaraja, Hassan and Fauq have given ample details of the glories of the Kashmiri Kings, the Mughal Court chroniclers have, due to obvious reasons, given less importance to their (Kashmir king') glories. It was Akbar the Mughal Emperor, who subjugated Kashmir. The valley of Kashmir then lost its independence. Hence the Mughal Court historians only glorified the deeds of their masters and gave no importance to the glories of the kings of Kashmir.

The Hanshu is the official history of the early Han dynasty of China, which was written between 125 B.C. and 23 A.D. It contains official information about Kashmir and the Kashmiris, prior to the advent of the Christian era. It is given that Kashmir is a large State, meaning thereby, greater Kashmir, when some parts of the Punjab, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Tibet were parts of the kingdom.

The inhabitants are skillful at decorative work, engraving, and the art of inlay, at building residence, at weaving woolens and at patterned embroidery. They are fond of wine and food. There are many households, individuals and persons able to bear arms and it is large State." - Honshu 125 B.C.

This shows that the Kashmiris were very prosperous between 125 B.C. and 23 A.D. Besides, this most valuable and rare history of the Han dynasty, which has been now translated, tells us that "there are many households, individuals and persons able to bear arms and it is large State". It is clear that the Kashmiris of that age were very brave and in

each household there were individuals & persons who could use arms.We are further informed by this very rare and old history that some rulers of the Han dynasty deputed their envoys to Kashmir with gift but they were killed by the Kashmiris.

It may be mentioned that prior to the advent of Kanishka, Kashmir was ruled by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Bactarian rulers. Most of these people had Greek blood in their veins. One of the famous Kashmiri rulers, who patronised Buddhism was Meander and he had Greek blood in his veins. Then came the Kushanas, who were foreigners. Military exploits of the Kashmiris during the period of the Kushanas have been delt with earlier. It will suffice to say that prior to the advent of the Kushanas, the Kashmiris were termed as "people who bore arms."

It has been pointed out earlier that during the rule of the Sultans, the two Tibets were under Kashmir. Kashgar, which is at a distance of one month's march from Gilgit, acknowledged the political supremacy of the Sultanate. Jonaraja informs us that even Sind formed a part of the Kashmir kingdom, during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who had placed this province under the governor-ship of his nephew. It was during this period that the tribal chiefs of Rajouri, Karnah, Poonch, Kishtwar, Pakhli, Hazara and frontier regions acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kashmir Sultanate. Haider Milk has mentioned that even the Rajas of Jammu paid homage to Budshah and Jammu was a dependency of Kashmir.

It was during the rule of Sultan Hassan Shah(1475-84 A.D) that his general, Tazi Butt advanced towards Rajouri, which had been invaded by Tatar Khan of the Punjab. Having cleared Rajouri of the invaders, Tazi Butt proceeded further towards Jammu, whose Raja Ajai Dev had sought protection of the Sultan. The invading army was routed at Jammu but re-assembled at Sialkot. The Kashmiri soldiers continued their onslaughts further and ravaged Sialkot by burning it. Sialkot was a principality of the Khok-hars at that time. Even though both sides lost heavily, the Kashmiris were victorious. They not only vanquished the soldiers of Tatar Khan but also took many Khokhars as prisoners to Kashmir. Tazi Butt was a great soldier, who brought great mili-tary glory to Kashmir. One of the famous Kashmiri poets has said:

"Let thunder rumble;

Let there be an earthquake;

Let there be born another Tazi Butt."

In order to create inferiority complex among the Kashmiris, there alien masters hurled abuses on them. This was done deliberately and with a definite purpose. The Kashmiris were looked down upon with suspicion by their alien masters. They were crushed and humbled and a time came when they felt helpless and reconciled themselves to fate. All their past glory was forgotten and com-plexes emerged among them. They forgot that a few centuries ago, the Kashmiris were consi-dered brave soldiers. In a speech, Pandit Parme-shwar Nath Kaul says:

> "Only a few among us would be aware of the fact that a few centu-ries back, the Kashmiris were consider soldiers of superior category. They not only extended the boundaries of Kashmir but also ruled over Sind. Not only did they subdue a large chunk of territory of Afghanistan, but entered into the middle of India also. It is evident from the archaeological remains of the past. The Kashmiri forces were so invincible that Mahmood of Gazhan, who had brought havoc to India, was defeated by them. It is our misfortune that the records of our past glory have been kept hidden from us.
>
> *Es qoom kay farzand hain naqabil-i-afwaj;*
>
> *Jes qoom say bagha tha Mahmood ka risala;*
>
> *Es qoom ko ab tukra zamin ka nahin milta;*
>
> *Jo qoom liya karti thi mulkoon ka qabala.*
>
> (The sons of this nation are considered unfit for army, which nation had defeated the cavalry of Mahm-ood of Ga-znah. This nation does not get a tract of land, which used to conquer countries.

During the regime of the Dogra Maharaja the Kashmiris were not al-lowed to keep any arms in their houses. They could not even keep a 6 inch knife. What a pity when we compare our lot with a 15th century incident, related below:

Mohamad Shah, a minor of 7 years ascended the throne of the kingdom of Kashmir in the year 1487 A.D. On the day of his acces-

sion, his ministers brought presents and gifts for him in the shape of gold, jewels and other valuable articles. It did not attract his attention except a sword, which he held in his hand and waved in the air.

This single example shows the inborn military spirit of the Kashmiris. Mohamad Shah spent his whole life in subduing unruly elements in the Sultanate. It was during his reign that the Mughal emperor Baber deputed his forces for the conquest of Kashmir. The Mughal army reached Noushera, when Kaji Chak faced the invaders. Despite the fact that he was not on good terms with the king, he did not want a foreigner to subjugate Kashmir. As such, he, at the head of a small force, attacked the Mughal army at night. The Mughals got bewildered and scattered themselves. Leaving their generals, the Mughal soldiers ran away in all directions. The first attack of the Mughals was repulsed by the Kashmiris.

Baber, who had established himself at Delhi, as the emperor of India, felt humiliated at the defeat of the Mughals. He deputed Sheikh Ali Beg as the Commander of the Mughal army, for another invasion on Kashmir.

In accordance with the practice of the period, a tower was raised by the Kashmiris, from the heads of the fallen Mughal soldiers, at Hirapur."says-Haider Malik Chadoora in his Tarikh-I-kashmir.

This is army was well equipped and consisted of 20,000 soldiers. The Mughals were stopped by the Kashmiris at the borders but were defeated. Some of their able Commanders like Masihi Chak, Sarhang Chak, Tazi Chak were killed. The Sultan of Kashmir was made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals, who soon left for Delhi. At their departure, the Kashmiris again declared their independence.

The Kashmiris had not even recovered from the previous attack, when a fierce misery fell on them, in the shape of an attack from Mirza Haider Dughlat of Kashgar. It was a sudden and an unexpected attack, when the conspiracies of the nobles had rendered the Sultanate weak and in disorder. His army which consisted of 7,000 cavalry and 14,000 foot soldiers, brought loot, arson and fire on the Kashmiris. Thousands of men, women and children were made captives by him. He confiscated the belongings, wealth and articles of the Kashmiris and thus starved them. Every one tried to run away towards forests but most of

the Kashmiris were hunted down by soldiers. Mirza Haider of Chadoora and other nobles collected their armies and attacked the invader but were defeated. After that, it was a general massacre of the Kashmiris who were destroyed and ground down by Haider Dughlat. After their defeat, the Kashmiris started guerrilla warfare and inflicted heavy josses on the Mughals After a truce, in which, Sultan of Kashmir agreed to consider himself an appendage of the Sultan of Delhi, Mirza Haider returned to Kasgar.

Some of the nobles, who had lost power, including Malik Abdul Magray, Regi Chak and Haji Banday waited upon the Mughal emperor, Humayun at Lahore. These traitors incited the Mughals to invade Kashmir. And Humayun was himself being pursued by Sher Shah. Mirza Haider Dughlat, agreed to attack Kashmir, Accordingly, all the above invaded Kashmir and portioned it among themselves. Thus Kashmir was ruined by its own traitors. Despite these disadvantages, the Kashmiris again united and attacked the palaces of Mirza Hiader Daghlat at Anderkot. After burning his seat of government, they imprisoned his family members and deported them to Kashgar.

The Mughal army burned down the palaces of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin at Zainagir, but the Kashmiris pursued Mirza Haider and killed him along with his few followers. Thus came to an end the life of an adventurer who had inflicted many miseries on the Kashmiris. In order to give a warning to the Mughals and making them desist from further invasions on Kashmir, a tower of the heads of the Mughal soldiers, killed at Hirapur, was raised like the tower at Hanzivira.

Akbar deputed a well equipped army to conquer Kashmir, under Mirza Shah Rukh, Shah Quli and Bhagwan Dass. Yusuf Shah, the then Sultan of Kashmir decided to welcome the Mughals but his Kashmiri generals advised him to face the invaders. He was assured by them that:

We will continue our fight day after day by taking shelter in the forests and mountains. Akbar and his army, which is bent upon destroying us will not be able to destroy us. whatsoever comes to Kashmir will find stiff resistance at the passes and mountain defiles.

The Sultan, being timid, left his people and proceeded to pay homage to the Mughal emperor. Instead of fighting the invaders, the King of Kashmir went over to enemy camp. He had been lured into submis-

sion by Bhagwan Dass.

Prince Yuqub came forward to denounce the action of his father, assumed the reins of the government and decided to face the enemies. He was declared the Sultan of Kashmir and the Kashmiri army started offensive against the Mughals. It fought desperately and captured nearly 3000 Mughal soldiers. Bhagwan Dass begged for peace and returned to Delhi with his remnant forces. When this treaty was submitted by him before Akbar.The felt humiliated. He broke faith by imprisoning Yusuf Shah and exiling him to Bihar. History records this ugly incident, in which the 'Great' Akbar broke his word for imperial interests. Akbar sent another force under Mir Qasim for the subjugation of Kashmir. This army consisted of 40,000 horses,20,000 foot soldiers, besides other regiments. Due to the connivance of some of the Kashmiri nobles and elders, the invaders had a smooth sail and reached the boundaries of the Kashmir Sultanate. They purchased the guardians of the passes with wealth and crossed the mountains at Shopian. Yaqub marched towards Hirapur to face the enemy, but his nobles and other landlords had already betrayed him.

In the wake of Mughal invasion, the Kashmiri nobles fought amount themselves and partitioned the kingdom. The Kashmiri forces fought under the command of Qasim Nayak, Zaffar Nayak Mohammad Chak and sacrificed themselves for the independence of the Sultanate. After their death, the great son Muali came forward to rally the Kashmiris. They could not withstand the force of the Mughals. Yaqub Shah fled away to Kishtwar. Having killed many Kashmiris, the Mughals reached Srinagar in October, 1586. Like every conqueror, they first strengthened their position and then started to show their inner wrath against the Kashmiris. Day after day, they started inflicting every kind of misery on the Kashmiris, whom they termed as "animals". Rape, arson, looting and destructions became the order of the day.

The Mughal soldiers raped women and brought havoc to the properties of the residents. All those, who bore their Chak surnames were hunted down throughout the valley, and to save themselves they changed their surnames from Chak to Shah. Even the traitor, Haider Chak, who had guided the Mughals into Kashmir was imprisoned by his master, Mir Qasim, the Mughal Commander.

Yaqub who had fled to Kishtwar, came with a reinforced army to

attack the Mughal Occupation army. When this news reached Srinagar, the Kashmiris rose against the Mughals. They set fire to the palace of the Mughal Governor, Mir Qasim who had shut himself as a jackal. "They also set fire to various Mughal camps in and around the city and fought like infuriated tigers". After killing Haider Chak, the traitor, Mir Qasim, purchased Alamsher Magrey this side. Thus ended the resistance of the Kashmiris and Yaqub fled to his hide out in Kishtwar. Thus the second attempt of the Kashmiris to regain power failed. But in the meantime other Kashmiri remnants continued the struggle. They overtook the Mug-hals by sur-prise, who fled in all directions. In spite of the superiority of the Mughal forces by way of men and material, the small but patriotic Kashmiri forces were able to annihilate the Mughals. Yaqub was invited to be the Sultan of Kashmir.

Yaqub, not only pardoned the nobles, who had deserted him, but gave them honored positions in his army. The Mughals led another attack on the Kashmiri forces, which were scattered through out the valley. This was the third time when the Kashmiris failed to regain power and Yaqub again fled to Kishtwar.

After some time, Yaqub again collected the remains of the Kashmiri forces and marched through Sopore. The Mughals were routed and massacred by the Kashmiris. Yaqub then reached Srinagar and appeared on the top of Takhat-i-Sulaiman hill. The Mughals led an attack on Yaqub from two sides: Pandrethan and Gupkar. Yaqub and Shams had to flee but combined their forces at Zainakot. They encamped themselves in the heart of the city of Srinagar. Hearing this, the Mughal emperor, Akbar deputed reinforcements. The Kashmiri nobles fought among themselves and could not unite against their common enemy. Yaqub retired to Kishtwar, never to return again. Thus came to end the independence of Kashmir in 1588 A.D., when Yaqub passed away with the words "Kasheer" on his lips. Mahmud had to suffer his second defeat in India and had to return without having removed the stigma from his face. He returned to Gaznah as a frustrated man never to repeat his invasion again. It goes to the credit of the Kashmiris that they made him to eat the humble pie. It is for this reason that Manouchi speaks of the Kashmiris as "very brave in war". Maouchi was also aware that the invading Mughal forces had suffered defeat at the hands of the Kashmiris.

Making of arms in Kashmir is as old as its history. He needed arms for his protection as well as for hunting . .The earliest specimen of arm used by him was a spear for hitting animals as well as the fish. It consisted of a long rod with a metal head. It was called Narchoo in Kashmiri .Later other arms were made which came to known, as Tarshool, Khanjar, Tabar, Gourz,

During wars, the Kashniri iron - smiths prepared swords, spears, Zarabaktar, thunderbolt, Gourus, or maiz, arrows and bows.

It is a historical fact that Kashmir did have very great rulers like, Lalitaditya Muktapida , Sultan Shahab-uddin, who made extensive conquest s outside the Valley. Lalitadiya Muktapida conquered Tibet, Kashgar, Afghanistan, Punjab and the north india right up to Bengal. His army consisted of the Kashmiri soldiers, who used their own indigenous arms. Sultan Shahab-uddin conquered Punjab and Sindh and defeated the King of Delhi , fixing the Kashmir boundary at Sarhand in Punjab.

Arms like rifles, guns, pistols came to be introduced during the British subjugation of India and they made extensive use of gunpowder during Dehli Gaddar in 1857. Hence these European type of arms became popular among the native princes also.

When the Mughals subjugated Kashmir in 1586 , Akbar did not wish the Kashmiris to remain a martial race. H e banned entry of the Kashmiris in the army. This policy was continued by the foreign rulers like the Afghans, as well as the Sikhs.

It was during the Mughal rule, that the Kashmiris started copying and make duplicates of the Mughal guns and rifles. They used these arms for self protection as well as hunting.

Gun-making as a craft came into prominence during the Mughal rule and it continued upto the end of the rains of the Maharajas rule in 1947. In fact it were the Dogra Maharajas who patronized gun and rife making for use by its forces.A little number of these guns was used

By the local Shikaris for hunting purposes. At the same time, the British visitors who came to Kashmir, patronized this manufacture by placing orders for pistols as well as rifles. Hence many smiths who lived around the Nagar- Nagar Fort continued to make guns, rifles and

pistols. A time came when there were about 2 dozen arms shops in Srinagar and Berwa village. During the Dogra rule from 1847 to 1947 Kashmiris established gun-making factories specially for the State army. The other work-shops made arms for hunters, local as well as foreign and some European visitors.

This industry died after 1947 due to various political reasons. The Kashmiri National m Militia which was established by the National Conference Government and which consisted of gun wielding men and women, was disbanded under orders of Sardar patel in 1948. However, gun and rife manufacture on a small scale continued by 2 factories in Bandook khar Mohalla of Rainawari, Srinagar for private hunters and license holders .

At present a , ban has been imposed on these two workshops not to produced more than a few hundred rifles and guns annually. Secondly, the issue of licenses to those who apply for a license is not encouraged due to the advent of militancy.Under such circumstances, this industry has practically died in the Jammu and Kashmir State

are downy and precocial and are brooded while they are small and at night during colder weather. After hatching, they are led away from the nest and may move to habitats such as sewage farms, lake edges, marshes and mudflats. The chicks fledge after 25–30 days.

Food and Feeding

They mainly eat invertebrates, but also aquatic plants in winter and on migration. In the breeding season, prey includes include beetles, flies, grasshoppers, dragonflies, mayflies, caterpillars, annelid worms and molluscs. Occasionally, fish eggs, frogspawn and tadpoles are eaten. In water, the most common feeding method is to probe vigorously, up to 36 times per minute, and often with the head completed submerged. On land, Black-tailed Godwits probe into soft ground and also pick prey items from the surface.

Relationship to Humans

In Europe, Black-tailed Godwits are only hunted in France, with the annual total killed estimated at 6,000 to 8,000 birds. This puts additional pressure on the western European population, and the European Commission has a management plan in place for the species in its member states. In England, Black-tailed Godwits were formerly much prized for the table. Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682) said: *"[Godwits] were accounted the daintiest dish in England and I think, for the bignesse, of the biggest price."* Old names included Blackwit, Shrieker, Barker and Jadreka Snipe. The Icelandic name for the species is Jaðrakan.

Whimbrel

The Whimbrel *Numenius phaeopus*, is a wader in the large family Scolopacidae. It is the one of the most widespread of the curlews, breeding across much of subarctic North America, Europe and Asia as far south as Scotland. This is a migratory species wintering on coasts in Africa, South America, south Asia into Australasia and southern North America. It is also a coastal bird during migration. It is fairly gregarious outside the breeding season.

Description

This is a large wader at 37–45 centimetres (15–18 in) length. It is mainly greyish brown, with a white back and rump (subspecies *N. p. phaeopus* and *N. p. alboaxillaris* only), and a long curved bill (longest in the adult female) with a kink rather than a smooth curve. It is generally wary. The usual call is a rippling whistle, prolonged into a trill for the song. The only similar common species over most of this bird's range are larger curlews. The Whimbrel is smaller, has a shorter, decurved bill and has a central crown stripe and strong supercilia.

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